# PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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Editor's Notes

**Original Articles**

**Reflections from Scholars and Practitioners**

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# Editor's Notes

This issue features articles that seek to shed light on relatively underexplored topics in leadership and public management studies. One research paper examines the influence of entrepreneurial leadership on public service motivation and performance. Two articles tackle what are hitherto nascent areas in the study of public management of disasters, namely, the dynamics of local government and volunteer collaboration in local disaster risk management (DRM) and the participation of persons deprived of liberty (PDLs) in DRM. Aside from these three full papers, this issue also comes with a reflection piece from an international public sector asset management practitioner and a book review of Wataru Kusaka's provocative take on the so-called moral politics in the Philippines.

Reginald Ugaddan's "Innovating the public sector leadership: Entrepreneurial leadership and employee outcomes in public sector organizations" provides empirical evidence demonstrating the value of entrepreneurial behaviors in enhancing employee motivation and performance in public sector organizations. Based on a survey involving Korean public sector employees in 2015, the study employed structural equation modeling to unravel the positive influence of entrepreneurial leadership on public service motivation and employee outcomes, such as affective commitment and organizational performance. The correlation is most strongly observed in employees of public sector institutions that are engaged in profit-oriented programs and activities, such as government-controlled corporations. The findings point to the need for public sector executives to adopt entrepreneurial values and behaviors in leadership and supervision. Thus, Ugaddan encourages and recommends the development of leadership development programs that infuse entrepreneurial values in training and education.

On the other hand, in the article "Local government-volunteer collaboration for disaster risk management in the Philippines," Erwin Gaspar Alampay, Charlie Cabotaje, Lydia Angeles, Maria Loriza Odulio and Don Jeffery Quebral look into the mechanisms and systems adopted by local governments and volunteer organizations in the implementation of collaborative and cooperative DRM programs. Examining six case studies from the Valuing Volunteering Project, Alampay et al. identified legal and institutional instruments and coordination mechanisms that facilitate DRM volunteerism at the local level. Going beyond enumerating the benefits of tapping volunteer groups in DRM amid resource scarcity, the study examined the weak points and best practices of such engagements. By surfacing the tension often present in relationships between local governments and civil society groups especially in crisis situations, lessons were harnessed not only

in DRM volunteerism but more importantly in striking a balance between collaboration and control.

Collaboration and control are also integral concepts in the context of engaging persons deprived of liberty (PDLs) in DRM activities in detention facilities. In the exploratory study "Participation of persons deprived of liberty in disaster risk reduction in Philippine jails" by Kathleen Pulangco, Louise Antonette Sandoval, Aizel Buenaventura, Kerr John Carlobos, Kate Angela Relampagos, Louise Rachel Santiago, and Joselle Velasco, mechanisms for participation of PDLs to mitigate the impact of disasters among the jail population are thoroughly discussed. As an analytical framework, the authors built on Arnstein's ladder of participation model to suit the context of jails wherein control over the implementation and planning of DRM activities cannot be ceded by jail authorities to PDLs. The study highlighted the importance of the informal jail structure of PDLs in implementing DRM activities as observed in four detention facilities. Accordingly, recommendation was drawn to integrate in DRM programs in prison management with due consideration to the limitations of what PDLs can do in a detention facility setting.

This issue of the Journal also features a reflection piece from Trevor Seymour-Jones, a new member of the *PJPA*'s International Advisory Board. In his essay "Reflections on managing government real property: An operational free good to a strategic resource," Seymour-Jones shared his experiences as a public sector asset management practitioner and how he relates theories and principles he learned from the academe to his practice. He also established his connection with the Philippine real property sector and his contribution to its growth by intimating his involvement in the development of Bonifacio Global City in the early 1990s and, most recently, the National Property Asset Registry of the Bureau of Treasury.

Capping the issue of the Journal is Luisito dela Cruz's review of the book *Moral Politics in the Philippines: Inequality, Democracy, and the Urban Poor* by Wataru Kusaka. Employing the Habermasian concept of the public sphere, Dela Cruz commends Kusaka's deviation from the usual political-economic analysis of Philippine democracy by using the moral politics lens. He also noted the potential of this approach in the study and practice of Public Administration, specifically in the realm of participatory governance. Dela Cruz, however, points out the limitations of Kusaka's proposed alternatives in healing the nation's moral division.

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As a final note, we would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to this issue's contributors and reviewers who made the completion of this publication possible. For the first issue of the upcoming Volume 64 of the Journal, we are very grateful to Dr. Ebinezer Florano for accepting our invitation to serve as issue editor.

# Innovating the Public Sector Leadership: Entrepreneurial Leadership and Employee Outcomes in Public Sector Organizations

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*The increasing popularity of public entrepreneurship and the incessant call for innovative and creative public organizations necessitate an entrepreneurial leadership (EL) approach that is distinct from traditional leadership models. While there have been significant advancements in public management theories of leadership, scant scholarly attention has been drawn to EL and its impact on public sector organizations. This article fills the gap by using the theoretical frameworks of path-goal, social learning, and social exchange to examine the influence of EL on public service motivation (PSM), affective commitment (AC), and organizational performance (OP). Specifically, this article investigates the mediating role of PSM through which EL influences AC and OP. The study uses data from the 2015 Public Sector Entrepreneurship Survey collected from Korean public sector employees working within government, executive, and public institution agencies. Results reveal that EL strongly affects outcome variables, particularly those related to OP. In addition, the impact and extent of EL is higher in public institutions than in executive and government agencies.*

**Keywords:** *entrepreneurial leadership, public service motivation, affective commitment, organizational performance*

Public sector organizations today have to confront a steady stream of challenges, push against the status quo, and be innovative and creative in capturing opportunities to serve the public effectively and efficiently. The government must be bold in developing proactive and innovative measures to better serve the public. The growing popularity of infusing entrepreneurship into the public sector is aimed at enhancing public service delivery and performance. However, this requires organizational innovation, whereby the government generates, develops, and adopts innovative ideas to improve the way things are done. The government's reinvention and reform efforts have focused on leadership issues, recognizing the role leaders play in creating and advancing high performance (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). Adopting New Public Management (NPM) entrepreneurial values may necessitate motivating public managers to

lead like private sector chief executive officers (CEOs), instilling entrepreneurial behaviors (Bernier & Hafsi, 2007), and adopting an entrepreneurial mindset to manage public organizations (McGrath & MacMillan, 2000). Narrowing the focus on the concept of *entrepreneurial leadership,* among other traditional leadership models,[1] is a key step in this direction. Entrepreneurial leadership encompasses the vision and charisma of a dynamic transformational leadership behavior and embodies the entrepreneurial behavior of innovativeness, proactiveness, and risk-taking (Currie, Boyett, & Suhomlinova, 2005).

While there have been significant developments in the field of public management, research and scholarly discussion on entrepreneurial leadership and its impact on motivation and performance in public organizations have been limited. Prior studies on entrepreneurial leadership focus on identifying individual and structural issues that influence its enactment in public organizations (see Doig & Hargrove, 1987). Individual behavior and motivation are prone to environmental or organizational stimuli and supervisor influence (Park & Rainey, 2008). Consequently, determining the impact of entrepreneurial leadership on motivation, commitment, and performance may provide a clear understanding of the mechanism and effects of behavioral shifts and leadership focus. This study examines the salient mechanism through which entrepreneurial leadership might influence affective commitment and perceived organizational performance, specifically, public service motivation (PSM). It focuses on developing a theoretical model relating entrepreneurial leadership, PSM, and employee outcomes. The model was tested using the survey data collected from employees in the Korean public sector within government, executive, and public institution agencies.

In the theoretical model, this study drew inspiration mainly from path-goal and social learning theories to explain the direct relationship between entrepreneurial leadership and PSM, and how the latter may act as a mediator. The path-goal theory of leadership traces its roots from the expectancy theory of motivations and indicates that leaders enhance motivation, satisfaction, and performance among employees when they help them pursue important goals (House, 1971). House (1996) states, "path-goal theory is a dyadic theory of supervision. It is concerned with how formally appointed superiors affect the motivation and satisfaction of subordinates" (p. 325). The general idea of the path-goal model is that leaders must endeavor to let subordinates see the goal and understand how to effectively follow the path through their superior's coaching and direction (Rainey, 2014). In this study, entrepreneurial leadership has specific leadership styles and behaviors—framing the challenge, absorbing uncertainty, path clearing, building commitment, and specifying limits (Gupta, MacMillan, & Surie, 2004)—in line with the path-goal concept. The study expects the implementation of entrepreneurial leadership to enhance PSM, affective commitment, and perceived organizational performance in public organizations.

This study also builds upon the social exchange and social learning theories (Bandura, 1978). Social exchange includes a series of interactions that may generate obligations (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005) on either party in the interactive relationship. Social behavior during interactions can be viewed as "an exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons" (Homans, 1961, p. 13). Social exchange is not limited to individuals (e.g., employee and employer) but extends to formal organizations (Molm, 2003). In public sector organizations, this could be social exchange in the employee-organization relationship. In the exchange process, resources may include material goods, as well as non-material ones, such as the symbols of approval or prestige (Bottom et al., 2006). Exchanges are based on organizational inducements or on initiating actions that trigger reciprocal or equivalent contributions or rewarding reactions from employees (Mostafa, Gould-Williams, & Bottomley, 2015).

Social learning theory explains the relationship between organizational environments, motivation, and commitment (Paarlberg, Perry, & Hondeghem, 2008; Perry, 2000; Rainey, 2014) to capture the relationship between entrepreneurial leadership, PSM, affective commitment, and perceived organizational performance. The general view of process theories, among them the social learning theory, posits that organizational or managerial inducements influence individual motivation, commitment, and performance. Social learning theory "blends ideas from operant conditioning theory with greater recognition of internal cognitive processes such as goals and a sense of self-efficacy, or personal effectiveness" (Rainey, 2014, p. 286). Through social learning theory, the study anticipates that entrepreneurial leadership behavior, which builds commitment and frames challenges, not only boosts individuals' morale but also reinforces their sense of belonging and importance. Thus, the study expects entrepreneurial leadership to directly influence employee outcomes and PSM to mediate the entrepreneurial leadership-employee relationship outcome, according to the theoretical lenses of path-goal, social exchange, and social learning theories. Figure 1 depicts the conceptual model of the study.

## Figure 1. Conceptual Model
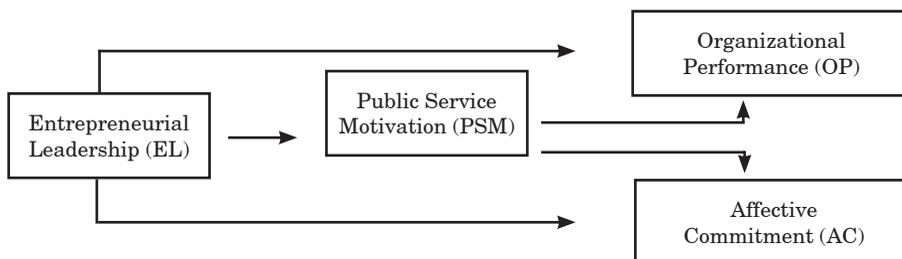


Control variables: *gender, educational attainment, and job tenure*

Accordingly, this study poses two questions. First, how is entrepreneurial leadership associated with PSM and employee outcomes (affective commitment and perceived organizational performance)? Second, does PSM mediate the relationship between EL and employee outcomes? To answer these questions, a review of related literature was undertaken to explain the relationship of the variables in the conceptual model. Path-goal and social learning theories are employed to explain the mediating role of PSM. Second, research methods and measures were detailed to describe the data items used to measure the variables. Third, research findings and results of the structural equation modeling (SEM) were presented. Lastly, implications for theory and practice and directions for future research were provided to conclude the article.

## Theoretical Framework

### Entrepreneurial Leadership and Path-Goal Theory

The concept of entrepreneurship is not new in the field of Public Administration; it was largely viewed as a part of the principles of strategic management and leadership (Currie et al., 2008). Public sector entrepreneurship is often characterized as a mechanism through which organizations and/or individuals take proactive, innovative, and risk-taking steps to pursue opportunities and obtain competitive advantage for their organizations (Covin & Slevin, 1991; Morris & Jones, 1999). The term innovativeness is defined as the "inventive process by which new things, ideas, and practices are created; it can mean the new thing, idea, or practice itself" (Goldsmith & Foxall, 2003, p. 322). Risk taking is engaging in various activities and programs, which may require incurring big debts and the allocation of huge quantities of resources (Baird & Thomas, 1985). Proactiveness is anticipating problems or issues and ensuring solutions are in place. It is flexible and adaptable to circumstance, being determined, and takes responsibility for failure (Currie et al., 2008). For the public sector, maintaining competitive advantage requires a proactive or opportunistic adoption of the best strategies to shape the environment to one's advantage and to embrace change (Lumpkin & Dess, 2001).

Consistent with the notion of public sector entrepreneurship, in order to display entrepreneurial leadership behaviors, public managers must adopt innovative, proactive, and risk-taking behaviors (Currie et al., 2003) and be capable of influencing others to find and exploit opportunities with the scarce resources available (Ireland, Hitt, & Sirmon, 2003). In the US National Performance Review of 1993, Al Gore (1993) outlined the principles of managerial entrepreneurship that are critical for entrepreneurial leaders, emphasizing organizational reforms (reduction of red tape, employee empowerment, and cost-efficient performance) and citizen or customer satisfaction. Entrepreneurial leaders are expected to set clear organizational goals, identify opportunities,

empower subordinates, promote strong organizational bonds, and develop an effective and efficient human resource system (Cunningham & Lischeron, 1991). Entrepreneurial leadership requires passion, vision, the ability to inspire others, and the capability of sustaining innovation in a continuously changing environment (Surie & Ashley, 2008). Entrepreneurial leaders stimulate and implement change, not as a mere adaptive response to alter existing organizational norms or practices, but to expand beyond status quo and build proactive and creative organizations. Entrepreneurial efforts must address organizational issues that hinder the capacity of individuals and/or organizations to identify opportunities to better serve citizens innovatively and creatively. Gupta et al., (2004) also suggests that the components of transformational, team-oriented, and value-based leadership are compatible with entrepreneurial leadership to face the challenges of implementing entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial challenges can only be confronted when leaders can: "(1) extract exceptional commitment and effort from organizational stakeholders, (2) convince them that they can accomplish goals, (3) articulate a compelling organizational vision, (4) promise their effort will lead to extraordinary outcomes, and (5) persevere in the face of environmental change" (Gupta et al., 2004, p. 246).

Entrepreneurial leadership recognizes the critical role of individuals in the entrepreneurial process and emphasizes leadership in action, rather than characteristics or personality (Renko et al., 2015). Since most organizational innovation and changes are formed by the interaction between entrepreneurial leaders and subordinates, leadership style can affect the entrepreneurial process in several ways. Essentially, when leaders embark on establishing entrepreneurship, they confront two interrelated challenges in their attempt to communicate organizational goals and vision, and convey the ability of subordinates to achieve it: (1) scenario enactment, which requires framing a challenge, absorbing uncertainty, and path clearing; and (2) cast enactment, which includes building commitment and specifying limits (Gupta et al., 2004; Ireland & Hitt, 1999).

Path-goal theory (House, 1971) has been used as a model to ascertain what employees need and want to perform their jobs. It represents a dyadic relationship between leaders and subordinates wherein leaders demonstrate directive path-goal clarifying behavior, supportive behavior, participative leader behavior, and achievement-oriented behavior (House & Mitchell, 1974). The reformulated path-goal theory broadens the scope to include the effects of leaders' path-goal behaviors on subordinates' ability to perform better, as well as their influence on individual performance (House, 1996). According to House (1996), the essence of the reformulated theory is the "meta proposition that leaders, to be effective, engage in behaviors that complement subordinate's environments and abilities in a manner that compensates for deficiencies and is instrumental to subordinate satisfaction and individual and work unit performance" (p. 348).

When leaders enact entrepreneurial leadership behavior, they are expected to portray charismatic role modeling of transformational leadership—inspire, address emotional needs, and intellectually stimulate subordinates—to engage with creativity and demonstrate entrepreneurial behaviors in the organization. In this instance, leaders demonstrate clarifying, supportive, and achievement-oriented behaviors that may draw subordinates' commitment to leadership and organizational entrepreneurial goals (Gupta et al., 2004; Renko et al., 2015). The path-goal theory encompasses leadership behavioral antecedents that are necessary and important in achieving success in entrepreneurial leadership. For example, in value-based leader behavior (House & Aditya, 1997), leaders specify a captivating organizational goal or mission, display confidence in achieving them, and act as models of commitment to the mission. Besides acting as role models, entrepreneurial leaders facilitate interaction and communication, expedite work, elicit team effort and active participation from subordinates, and encourage subordinates to work toward entrepreneurial goals (Ireland et al., 2003).

## Influence of Entrepreneurial Leadership on Employee Outcomes

According to path-goal theory, employees are likely to respond with positive attitudes—for example, affective commitment—and higher organizational performance when leaders display entrepreneurial leadership. Prior studies found that there is a positive relationship between entrepreneurial leadership and employee and organization outcomes. However, these studies are mostly done in the context of the private sector (see, for example, Engelen et al., 2015; Huang, Ding, & Chen, 2014).

Affective commitment refers to the individual's "emotional attachment to the organization" (Meyer & Allen, 1991, p. 67) and their staying on in the organization because they want to, not because they are obliged to or have to (Allen & Meyer, 1990). Previous studies suggest that affective commitment portrays the bond between employee and organization (see, for example, Kehoe & Wright, 2013), closely associated with organizational commitment because it encompasses internalization of organizational goals and loyalty to the organization (Avolio, Bass, Walumbwa, & Zhu, 2004), and linked with organizational performance (Messersmith et al., 2011). Entrepreneurial leadership, with its charismatic/transformational leadership behavior, influences affective commitment by encouraging subordinates to be creative, involving them in the decisionmaking process, and recognizing their need to develop their individual potential (Gupta et al., 2004). Similarly, entrepreneurial leadership may influence subordinates' affective commitment from the perspective of social exchange theory. The relationship between entrepreneurial leadership and affective commitment is likely to be influenced by social exchange, which is based on mutual affection, trust, and reciprocity. Thus, when entrepreneurial leaders inspire, stimulate learning, and acknowledge subordinates' personal needs, the social exchange is

likely to yield a high-quality leader-subordinate relationship, which, in turn, is likely to influence subordinates to reciprocate with high affective commitment.

In the same vein, perceived organizational performance is a subjective and complex socially constructed phenomenon that is hard to capture in the public sector (Brewer & Selden, 2000). According to Selden and Sowa (2004), organizational performance includes two dimensions: (1) management, which refers to "organizational and management characteristics—the things which describe an organization and its capabilities and the actions of managers within it"; and (2) program, which "refers to the specific service or intervention provided by the organization" (p. 398). The former is of great interest to this study because it deals with the outcomes of management systems. Organizations of all types need leadership that is capable of encouraging organizational and individual creativity, responding quickly to environmental challenges, and enhancing organizational performance (Vardiman, Houghton, & Jinkerson, 2006). Leadership is a well-entrenched social construct that influences OP (Kuhnert, 2001). The study draws on the path-goal theory by establishing the proximity of entrepreneurial leadership and perceived organizational performance. When entrepreneurial leaders provide specific directions and expectations that are relevant to the enactments of scenario and cast, subordinates are stimulated to change their beliefs, attitudes, and/or behaviors towards better performance (Jacobsen & Andersen, 2015). Also, from the perspective of social learning theory, when leaders demonstrate and continuously interact with subordinates through entrepreneurial leadership behaviors, subordinates are most likely to learn entrepreneurial processes, mechanisms, and behaviors by modeling. This reciprocal determinism supports the claim that individual and/ or organizational outcomes are products of interaction between factors (for example, entrepreneurial leadership behaviors and processes) (Bandura, 1974). Thus, this study hypothesizes the following:

*Hypothesis 1*: Entrepreneurial leadership has a positive direct effect on (1) affective commitment and (2) perceived organizational performance.

## Indirect Effect: The Link between Entrepreneurial Leadership, Public Service Motivation, and Employee Outcomes

PSM revived the essence of public service ethics and public duty (Perry & Wise, 1990) and is reflective of an intrinsic work motivation in the public sector (Park & Word, 2012). PSM is defined as "(an) individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 368). It is an important public administration concept because it explains an individual's motivation to serve others (Baarspul & Wilderom, 2011). As a concept, PSM captures the beliefs, values, and attitudes that manifest greater concern for the interest of the organization and the public

(Perry, 1996). PSM is a relatively stable variable that may gradually change (Wright & Grant, 2010) depending on the individual's work experience (Mostafa et al., 2015). However, others argue that it is a changeable aspect or a trait that can be influenced by organizational and/or leadership practices (Christensen, Paarlberg, & Perry, 2017).

Linking entrepreneurial leadership and PSM, the study refers to path-goal and social exchange theories. The proximity of EL to transformational, value-based, and team-oriented leadership (Gupta et al., 2004) makes it an important antecedent of PSM. On the basis of path-goal theory, an entrepreneurial leader, exhibiting directive, supportive, achievement-oriented, and participative behaviors, may increase employee PSM. Recent works linking leadership and PSM reveal the reinforcing and augmenting capacity of organizational leaders on the influence of PSM related on values and performance goals of organizations (Park & Rainey, 2008). When leaders apply entrepreneurial actions to scenario and cast enactments, it will most likely have a positive influence on PSM because employees gain an insightful understanding of their goals and roles, experience teamwork, participate in decisionmaking, and display creativity.

Likewise, from a social exchange theory perspective, this study expects that the enactment of entrepreneurial leadership will encourage employees to reciprocate with higher pro-social behavior and be more passionate in achieving entrepreneurial goals as evidenced by strong and high levels of PSM. This means that a vibrant exercise and enactment of entrepreneurial leadership, in light of neo-charismatic, value-based, team-oriented leadership behaviors, may stimulate a positive social exchange process. In turn, positive leadership behaviors encourage positive reciprocal exchange (Gould-Williams & Davies, 2005; Ugaddan & Park, 2017).

*Hypothesis 2:* Entrepreneurial leadership has a positive direct effect on PSM.

One of the most important factors that influence organizational commitment, OP, and other organizational variables is PSM. Various studies propose that PSM has a positive influence on organizational factors such as satisfaction (Bright, 2008), commitment of public sector employees (Park & Word, 2012), job performance (Alonso & Lewis, 2001), and public sector organizational performance (Bellé, 2013; Kim, 2005). When employees have all the mechanisms to express and exercise PSM in organizations, it may encourage them to integrate organizational goals and missions as valuable personal goals. Consistent with this view, employees may awaken their own sense of identity or self-concept (Weiss & Piderit, 1999). If organizations eliminate obstacles to the active enactment of PSM and create a mechanism for effective expression of pro-social motivation, PSM may yield positive organizational and individual outcomes like commitment to better organizational performance.

This study assumes that when public sector organizations have mechanisms that encourage the expression of pro-social motivation, they reinforce individuals' self-concept or identity. Thus, employees will be more enthusiastic and passionate in serving the public, have a greater desire to fulfill organizational goals and missions, and demonstrate higher affective commitment and organizational performance. Entrepreneurial leadership is most likely to promote this kind of organizational climate, as entrepreneurial leaders instill confidence and communicate goals, missions, paths, and other organizational issues. Thus, the study expects that entrepreneurial leadership may indirectly affect affective commitment and organizational performance via PSM. Based on the foregoing, the study proposes the following hypotheses:

*Hypothesis 3:* Public service motivation has a positive direct effect on (1) affective commitment and (2) perceived organizational performance.

*Hypothesis 4:* Public service motivation partially mediates the positive relationship between entrepreneurial leadership and (1) affective commitment and (2) perceived organizational performance.

## Method

### Data and Instrumentation

The study employs the 2015 Public Sector Entrepreneurship Survey (PSES),[2] a government-wide survey that asks Korean employees about entrepreneurship in the public sector, social and organizational values, organizational culture, structure, leadership, and organizational performance, among other things. Specifically, the survey inquires about employees' experiences of the extent of entrepreneurial and Confucian values in their organizations, as well as organizational culture, PSM, and affective commitment. The PSES was administered in March to May 2015 to 1,500 Korean public officials from 37 different government, executive, and public agencies. The study employed a quota-sampling technique that allows the inclusion of respondents from subgroups based on demographic information, such as age, gender, length of service, and job classification. Respondents were contacted via email and the survey questionnaire was personally delivered to increase response rates. The survey was able to retrieve 1,215 valid samples rendering a response rate of 81%.

The government agencies, executive agencies, and public institutions were chosen because they potentially differ in the extent of entrepreneurship, and in employees' PSM, affective commitment, and organizational performance. In the Korean government context, government agencies refer to central administrative agencies (also known as *Bu* [ministry], *Cheo* [ministry], or *Cheong* [administration or agency]) under the Office of the President and the Prime Minister (see also

the Korean Government Organization Act). Executive agencies, also known as responsible administrative agencies, are affiliated agencies of a national agency or central administrative agency established by law through a presidential decree. Executive agencies can be classified as survey and research, education and training, culture, medical care, facility management, and other types prescribed by presidential decree. Public institutions[3] include market-oriented public corporations, quasi-governmental institutions, and non-classified public institutions.

Within public organizations, government and/or executive agencies are expected to initiate innovative approaches in engaging citizens and delivery of public services. Public institutions, which function as both public and private organizations, have strong entrepreneurial orientation due to the nature of their functions that include earning profits. A total of 513 respondents from government agencies successfully completed the survey, of which 61.8% were male, and 38.2% were female. Of the 217 respondents from executive agencies, 54.4% were male and 45.6% were female. In public institutions, of the 477 successfully surveyed employees, 68.1% were male, and 31.9% female. Most respondents from the three agencies have an average length of service of five to ten years.

Missing data were treated using the expectation-maximization technique, an iterative method of inputting single values that produce the most probable value of the missing data (Gold & Bentler, 2000). This approach allows the retention of a valuable number of samples that contain a significant amount of data that is relevant to the analysis. If listwise or pairwise techniques were used, these cases might have been dropped from the analysis because of missing data (Roth, 1994). See Table 1 for detailed characteristics of the sample.

**Table 1: Sample Characteristics**

| Content | Dimension | Frequency (n=1215, Rate %) |
|---------|-----------|----------------------------|
| Gender | Male | 752 (61.9) |
|  | Female | 448 (36.9) |
|  | *Missing values* | 15 (1.2) |
| Age | 20-29 y/o | 85 (7.0) |
|  | 30-39 y/o | 533 (43.8) |
|  | 40-49 y/o | 423 (34.8) |
|  | 50-59 y/o | 161 (13.2) |
|  | 60 y/0 and above | 1 (0.1) |
|  | *Missing values* | 13 (1.1) |

| Educational Attainment | High school or less | 61 (5.0) |
|---|---|---|
| | College (2 to 3 years) | 92 (7.6) |
| | Bachelor's degree | 776 (63.8) |
| | Master's degree | 233 (19.2) |
| | Doctorate | 38 (3.1) |

## Measures

The variables were all measured using seven-point Likert-type scale (1= strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). They were coded in reverse so that a higher rating indicates a higher level of agreement with the question (7= strongly agree to 1 = strongly disagree).

*Entrepreneurial leadership*: The measures for entrepreneurial leadership were derived from Gupta et al. (2004), which cover leadership behaviors like framing the challenge, absorbing uncertainty, path clearing, building commitment, and specifying limits. Sample items include "leader in my agency anticipates possible future" and "leader in my agency instills others with confidence by showing confidence in them." Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .961 with factor loadings from .694 to .953.

*Public service motivation*: Perry (1996) developed several items grouped into four dimensions to measure PSM: (1) rational PSM, (2) norm-based PSM, (3) affective (self-sacrifice) PSM, and (4) affective (compassion) PSM. The Western framework of PSM may not be suitable in the Korean context due to unsuitable wording, for instance, "Politics is a dirty word" (Kim, 2009). Thus, in this study, this item was rephrased into "I have a negative perception on politics." Cronbach's alpha for the three-item rational PSM scale was .79; three-item norm-based PSM scale was .83; four-item affective (self-sacrifice) PSM scale was .87; and three-item affective (compassion) PSM scale was .76. To determine the PSM of the respondents, a high-order reflective measure with the four dimensions of PSM was employed.

*Affective commitment*: The measures for organizational commitment were derived from Allen and Meyer (1990) who developed several items for affective commitment. Some items were reversed (recoded, R) during the statistical analysis. A sample item is "I do not feel 'emotionally attached' to this agency." Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .92.

*Perceived organizational performance*: The study used the items developed by Brewer and Selden (2000) to measure organizational performance. Sample items include "In the past two years, the productivity of my work unit has improved" and "The work performed by my work unit provide the public a worthwhile return on their tax." Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .81.

*Control variables*: To exclude alternative explanations, the study controlled for the effects of demographic characteristics of respondents and their perception on the characteristics of the leader that could be related to the outcome variables. The effects of some demographic factors, including gender, educational attainment, and length of service was controlled on affective commitment and organizational performance (Messersmith et al., 2011). Gender is recorded as "1" for male respondents and "0" for female respondents. Educational attainment is classified into high school or less, college level, bachelor's degree, master's degree, and doctorate. Length of service is grouped into 1 month-3 years, 3-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, and more than 15 years. The results were consistent with or without the control variables.

## Analysis

The study employed exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to establish the reliability and validity of the latent constructs, and structural equation modeling (SEM) to test the hypothesized model. Although they are widely used in psychological research, these techniques are relatively new to public administration research (Tummers & Knies, 2013).

EFA was employed to understand the structure of the latent variables and to bring variables that are collinear (Field, 2013). The EFA seeks to establish parsimony by obtaining clusters of variables that are highly correlated with each other and underlying dimensions that are present in a dataset (Field, 2013; Kline, 2005). The maximum-likelihood method with promax rotation technique was used to identify explanatory constructs from the data. The results extracted seven identifiable and distinct latent variables for entrepreneurial leadership, the four dimensions of PSM, affective commitment, and perceived organizational performance. The factor loadings ranged from .46 to .97 with KMO [Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin] measure of sampling adequacy equivalent to .93 (Kaiser, 1975, values in the 0.90s are marvelous) and significant at $p < .001$. Due to cross-loadings and very low factor loadings, several items for entrepreneurial leadership, PSM, and affective commitment were excluded in the analysis. Table 2 shows the factor structure of key constructs.

CFA was used to test and confirm the factor structure of the latent variables based on a priori measurement models (Kline, 2005). CFA is capable of assessing psychometric properties for accepting models, which may strengthen reliability and validity of factors. Results of CFA (i.e., covariance between factors, indicator loadings, indicator's measurement error) may indicate convergent and discriminant validity of constructs (Kline, 2005).

## Table 2. Factor Structure of Key Constructs

| | Factor | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| EntreLead11 | .965 | | | | | | |
| EntreLead13 | .940 | | | | | | |
| EntreLead10 | .912 | | | | | | |
| EntreLead8 | .886 | | | | | | |
| EntreLead14 | .851 | | | | | | |
| EntreLead6 | .836 | | | | | | |
| EntreLead12 | .800 | | | | | | |
| EntreLead5 | .717 | | | | | | |
| EntreLead15 | .712 | | | | | | |
| EntreLead3 | .463 | | | | | | |
| SS_PSM2 | | .850 | | | | | |
| SS_PSM4 | | .809 | | | | | |
| SS_PSM3 | | .726 | | | | | |
| SS_PSM1 | | .695 | | | | | |
| Com_PSM2 | | | .796 | | | | |
| Com_PSM3 | | | .707 | | | | |
| Com_PSM1 | | | .667 | | | | |
| RationalPSM1 | | | | .817 | | | |
| RationalPSM3 | | | | .803 | | | |
| RationalPSM2 | | | | .622 | | | |
| Affective3r_1 | | | | | .948 | | |
| Affective2r_1 | | | | | .867 | | |
| OrgPer3 | | | | | | .827 | |
| OrgPer2 | | | | | | .717 | |
| OrgPer1 | | | | | | .589 | |
| NormBPSM3 | | | | | | | .931 |
| NormBPSM2 | | | | | | | .593 |
| NormBPSM4 | | | | | | | .561 |

Note: Extraction method: Maximum Likelihood. Rotation method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

The results of CFA confirm the measurement model that includes three first-order factors (EL, AC, and OP) and one second-order factor (PSM). The measurement model exhibited acceptable CMIN/Df = 3.77 (CMIN/Df > .3 is considered acceptable), excellent CFI (comparative fit index) = .96 (CFI > .95 is considered excellent), excellent SRMR (standardized root mean square residual)

= .05 (SRMR < .08 is considered excellent), excellent RMSEA (root mean square error approximation) = .05 (RMSEA < .06 is considered excellent), excellent, PClose = .88 (PClose > .05 is considered excellent) (Hu & Bentler, 1999), with all significant standardized loadings at p < .001. For latent constructs, the extracted CR (composite reliability) exceeded .70 (i.e., entrepreneurial leadership = .96, PSM = .81, affective commitment = .92, and perceived organizational performance = .82) and AVE (average variance extracted) exceeded .50 (i.e., entrepreneurial leadership = .71, PSM = .60, affective commitment = .85, and perceived organizational performance = .61) indicating high internal consistency. The discriminant validity was assessed by estimating the square root of the corresponding AVE of each construct (i.e., entrepreneurial leadership = .84, PSM = .77, affective commitment = .92, and perceived organizational performance = .78). The values exceeded the corresponding interconstruct correlations, which achieved discriminant validity of constructs (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

SEM was performed to test the hypotheses. SEM allows an examination of causal relation among variables in a path model—or in some cases where one variable is denoted a mediating variable (functions both as an independent and dependent variable). Other empirical techniques, like regression analysis, do not allow a simultaneous testing of causal relationships identified in a hypothesized model. In the study, PSM was positioned at the center of the model, theorizing that it can be explained by entrepreneurial leadership and can serve as a motivational factor that may explain the relationship between entrepreneurial leadership and outcome variables, such as affective commitment and perceived organizational performance.

The SEM analysis was performed through AMOS (analysis of moment structures). AMOS is capable of determining whether the model fits the data well or to switch to possible optional paths that may better fit the model to the data (Kline, 2005). AMOS software allows multigroup analysis and is capable of generating bootstrap estimates of standard error and confidence intervals of direct and indirect parameter estimates. The study seeks to determine the direct and the indirect effects of independent variables on outcome variables.

## Results

### Descriptive Statistics

The mean, standard deviation, and correlations of the variables are reflected in Table 3. The respondents reported relatively high perception towards entrepreneurial leadership, organizational performance, affective commitment, and PSM. The descriptive statistics of variables shows a significant difference between the three organizational categories (i.e., government agencies, executive agencies, and public institutions). The results reveal that employees from public

institutions reported high perception of entrepreneurial leadership, PSM, affective commitment, and organizational performance compared to employees in government and executive agencies. See Table 4 for the means and standard deviations of constructs in each group in the study.

### Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Constructs

| | M | SD | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Entrepreneurial leadership (EL) | 4.90 | 1.21 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 2) Public service motivation (PSM) | 4.19 | .62 | .32** | 1 | | | | | | |
| 3) Perceived organizational performance (POP) | 4.67 | .93 | .57** | .35** | 1 | | | | | |
| 4) Organizational commitment (OC) | 4.38 | 1.18 | .37** | .18** | .40** | 1 | | | | |
| 5) Gender | 1.37 | .48 | -.08** | -0.02 | -.12** | -0.02 | 1 | | | |
| 6) Education | 3.08 | .77 | -0.01 | .06* | .08** | .10** | -0.02 | 1 | | |
| 7) Length of service | 3.31 | 1.43 | .11** | .21** | .14** | .15** | -.07** | -0.02 | 1 | |
| 8) Trustful leader | 4.23 | 1.12 | .68** | .27** | .52** | .33** | -.11** | -0.03 | 0.03 | 1 |

Note. *Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (1-tailed). **Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

### Table 4. Means and Standard Deviation Constructs in Each Group

| Agency | EL | PSM | AC | OP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government agency | M *(SD)* | M *(SD)* | M *(SD)* | M *(SD)* |
| Executive agency | 4.87 (1.14) | 4.11 (.61) | 4.27 (1.14) | 4.56 (.87) |
| Public institution | 4.55 (1.29) | 4.23 (.62) | 4.37 (1.16) | 4.82 (.98) |
| Total | 4.90 (1.21) | 4.19 (.62) | 4.38 (1.18) | 4.67 (.93) |
| ANOVA *(F)* | 15.17*** | 6.93*** | 4.66** | 20.05*** |

## SEM Results

The results of SEM are presented in Table 5 reporting the regression estimates, standard errors, and the fit indices for the model. Overall model achieved exhibited acceptable CMIN/Df = 4.23, acceptable CFI = .94, excellent RMSEA = .05, and excellent PClose = .11. The results reveal that entrepreneurial

leadership has a direct effect on affective commitment (B = .19, p < .001), perceived organizational performance (B = .30, p < .001), and PSM (B = .47, p < .001), thus supporting Hypotheses 1 and 2. The analysis also supports the direct effect of PSM on affective commitment (B = .23, p < .001) and perceived organizational performance (B = .36, p < .001), confirming Hypothesis 3. The results suggest that the relationship between entrepreneurial leadership and outcome variables, especially perceived organizational performance, is stronger than with the effects from PSM, although there was a relatively small difference with regard to the effect on affective commitment. The study also tested the indirect effects of entrepreneurial leadership through PSM on employee outcomes. The results of the bootstrap analysis in AMOS reveal that entrepreneurial leadership indirectly affects affective commitment (B = .11, p < .001) and perceived organizational performance (B = .17, p < .001) via PSM. These findings suggest partial mediation that supports Hypothesis 4.

The levels of explained variance in the overall measurement model are relatively high. For example, the model explains 50% of the variance in perceived organizational performance while 22% in affective commitment. The variance is attributable to the direct and mediated effects of entrepreneurial leadership and significant control variables (gender, education, and length of service).

The results of the additional SEM analyses that tested the model in the three categories of Korean government organizations (government agencies, executive agencies, and public institutions) reveal interesting findings. The three models achieved acceptable to excellent fit indices suggesting a robust model: government agencies (CMIN/Df = 2.90, CFI = .93, SRMR = .11, RMSEA = .03, PClose = 1.00), executive agencies (CMIN/Df = 2.07, CFI = .90, SRMR = .12, RMSEA = .07, PClose = .00), and public institutions (CMIN/Df = 2.66, CFI = .92, SRMR = .12, RMSEA = .06, PClose = .00). The paths indicated in the hypothesized model were all significant in the three  government organizations. In public institutions, the effect of EL on the three outcome variables are stronger compared to executive and government agencies. For the indirect effects, the analysis suggests that the relationship between EL and AC, and OP, was partially mediated by PSM in the government and executive agencies. In the public institutions, the indirect path for OP is significant while not significant towards AC. These findings suggest a non-mediating role of PSM in the relationship between EL and AC in the public institutions.

### Table 5. Estimated Parameters for Direct and Indirect Effects Model

| | | | | | Total | Government Agency | Executive Agency | Public Institution |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | B | B | M (S.E.) | M (S.E.) |
| EL | → | | | PSM | .47** | .53*** | .23** | .56*** |
| EL | → | | | AC | .19** | .20*** | .11 | .25*** |
| EL | → | | | POP | .30** | .25*** | .33*** | .33*** |
| PSM | → | | | AC | .23** | .16* | .42*** | .15* |
| PSM | → | | | POP | .36*** | .35*** | .42*** | .27*** |
| EL | → | PSM | → | AC | .36*** | .06* | .10* | .08 |
| EL | → | PSM | → | POP | .11*** | .16*** | .10* | .15** |
| Gender | → | AC | | | .02 | -.07 | .18** | .05 |
| Gender | → | POP | | | -.07** | -.05 | .01 | -.11** |
| Education | → | AC | | | .09*** | .07 | .11 | .05 |
| Education | → | POP | | | .08** | .02** | .21*** | .06 |
| LOS | → | AC | | | .10*** | .09* | .06 | .17 |
| LOS | → | POP | | | .06** | .14** | .09 | .04*** |
| TL | → | AC | | | .13*** | .09 | .20** | .16** |
| TL | → | POP | | | .23*** | .16*** | .28*** | .32*** |
| $R^2$ PSM | | | | | .22 | .21 | .05 | .32 |
| $R^2$ AC | | | | | .22 | .16 | .34 | .26 |
| $R^2$ OP | | | | | .54 | .42 | .64 | .61 |
| CMIN/DF | | | | | 4.23 | 2.90 | 2.07 | 2.66 |
| CFI | | | | | .94 | .93 | .90 | .92 |
| SRMR | | | | | .11 | .11 | .12 | .12 |
| RMSEA | | | | | .05 | .03 | .07 | .06 |
| PClose | | | | | .11 | 1.00 | .00 | .00 |

Notes: Statistical significance of beta values was same with and without control variables. p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001. Standardized coefficients are presented. EL = entrepreneurial leadership; PSM = public service motivation; AC = affective commitment; POP = perceived organizational performance; LOS = length of service; TL = trustful leader.

## Discussion

The study contributes to the emerging scholarly discussion on public sector entrepreneurial leadership in two ways. First, the study developed and empirically tested a theoretical model, in the context of public sector organizations,

that provides a wide range of theoretical and practical implications. Second, it highlighted the consequences of entrepreneurial leadership and the importance of understanding the mechanisms through which entrepreneurial leadership may influence employee motivation and behavior as well as their performance in the organization. In addition, the study examined the theoretical model and the hypothesized relationships across organizational categories in the public sector (government agencies, executive agencies, and public institutions).

The results suggest that entrepreneurial leadership is a strong predictor of perceived organizational performance, PSM, and affective commitment, respectively. These are in line with the theoretical expectations that when leaders engage in path-goal work and/or undertake social learning approaches while dealing with subordinates, employees demonstrate higher motivation and performance. This may reflect the prevalence of highly motivated, committed, and performing employees in public sector organizations when leaders enact entrepreneurial leadership behaviors such as giving specific and clear organizational directions and expectations, being supportive and building commitment, laying emphasis on achievements, opening the lines of communication, and engaging subordinates in healthy discussions on the goals of the organization (Gupta et al., 2004; House & Mitchell, 1974; House, 1996). In the results, the relationship between entrepreneurial leadership and perceived organizational performance is stronger. Path-goal and social learning theories provide logical explanations to this finding. When leaders articulate goals and pave the way toward the achievement of such goals, they are already communicating specific goals that stimulate employees to prioritize and set performance expectations that allow them to focus and yield positive performance evaluations (this can also be viewed through goal-setting and control theories). Subsequently, when leaders exhibit entrepreneurial leadership behaviors, they may wittingly or unwittingly set an example for subordinates to engage in similar behaviors or conform to the behaviors depicted by the leader. The findings also show that PSM partially mediates the relationship between entrepreneurial leadership, affective commitment, and perceived organizational performance. In other words, when entrepreneurial leadership is high, PSM will also be high, which in turn will influence employee outcomes positively. There is growing literature on public entrepreneurship, the current research suggests that entrepreneurial leadership behaviors can have a positive influence on employee motivation, commitment, and organizational performance.

The findings show that the extent of direct influence and indirect effect through PSM varies in government agencies, executive agencies, and public institutions. The effect of entrepreneurial leadership on PSM, AC, and OP is higher in public institutions. We expected public institutions to score highly on each employee outcome, as their mandate as government-owned and controlled entities is to produce goods and services for profit. Thus, they are used to encouraging entrepreneurial values in the organization. This finding

would fit the descriptive statistics that public institutions display higher levels of entrepreneurial leadership than the other two agencies. Nevertheless, the results also reveal that the enactment of entrepreneurial leadership yields a positive influence on PSM, commitment, and performance of employees in government and executive agencies. In other words, behavioral shift or enactment of entrepreneurial leadership generates significant and positive impact on employee behavior across public sector organizations. When it comes to indirect effect, both in government agencies and public institutions, entrepreneurial leadership is only directly related with affective commitment and PSM does not play a mediating role. This suggests that, in government agencies and public institutions, regardless of the degree of PSM, employees display commitment in their organization that is possibly explained by entrepreneurial leadership behavior. Across agencies, PSM partially mediates the relationship between entrepreneurial leadership and perceived organizational performance. This means that the impact of entrepreneurial leadership on perceived organizational performance can be explained through PSM, which is therefore an important predictor.

## Conclusion

The study emphasizes the important determination of the relationship of entrepreneurial leadership, an NPM-based leadership behavior, on employee motivation and behaviors that are relevant in public sector organizations. The emerging idea of entrepreneurship is a welcome development in public management to transform public sector organizations (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004). Entrepreneurial behaviors in the organization allow innovativeness, risk taking, and proactiveness to flow in order to capture opportunities for public value. As Mitchell Weiss (2014) puts it, "government entrepreneur is not an oxymoron." It is a reality and a necessity for public sector organizations to function more efficiently and deliver better services to the public. The research findings highlight the positive and strong influence of entrepreneurial leadership within organizations, and suggest the need to produce more public entrepreneurs spread across public sector organizations.

First, the implication is that public human resource managers may design effective recruitment systems and implement guidelines for the lateral entry of competent and talented public leaders from the private sector. For example, the open position system for senior civil servants may provide an opportunity for private sector CEOs that are capable of infusing entrepreneurial behavior to apply in the public service. In addition, creating and developing public entrepreneurial leaders require human resource development interventions, such as a continuous entrepreneurial leadership development program. The training and education program must focus on addressing the gap in entrepreneurial knowledge, skills, and abilities. Leadership development program objectives

could include harnessing government analysts and strategists, innovators, creators of new ideas, and strategic thinkers. The training may also be designed to enhance leadership qualities in managing people, develop skill in building innovative public organizations, handling risk-taking challenges, and managing risk. Various forms of interventions can be adopted. For instance, a leadership training exchange program between government and business may be explored to foster the development of public entrepreneurial leaders.

Second, public entrepreneurial leaders may stimulate PSM and employee outcomes within organizations by harnessing individual creativity and autonomy. The study provided some insights on entrepreneurial leadership via the path-goal model that helping employees understand organizational goals and roles, encouraging teamwork and participatory decisionmaking, and fostering creativity might enhance employee's PSM. Other studies also suggest that communicating with the employees their central role in achieving organizational goals and contribution to society can have positive effect on employee's PSM (Moynihan & Pandey, 2007).

Lastly, the results of the study may provide important implications in practice and in theory. Results must be discussed within the bounds of its methodological limitations, which provide space for future research. The study used cross-sectional data wherein speculative direction of causality is made from entrepreneurial leadership to employee outcomes. Also, the data is prone to common-method or social desirability bias, which may cause concentrated ranges, leading to over- or underestimates of effect size. Employing objective, longitudinal, and multi-source data may lessen unsubstantiated and subjective interpretation of results. Also, the data employed in the study were collected from Korean public sector organizations, limiting the generalizability of the results and findings. Nevertheless, extending the study to various cross-cultural and cross-country contexts may yield interesting findings that may find relevance and consistency in view of the results of the extant research. Lastly, the SEM analysis, employing individual-level data perceptions, may not avoid variance bias and atomistic fallacy. Future studies should employ multilevel data based on hierarchical linear models that are embedded at both the individual and organizational levels.

### End Notes

[1] Traditional leadership models include contingency, transformational, transactional, servant, and other theories of leadership. In a fast-changing organizational environment, there is a need to explore leadership models capable of exploiting opportunities (see also Harrison, 2017) and to further enhance organizational performance. NPM-driven leadership models have to be explored and analyzed to advance business-like leadership behaviors such as innovativeness, risk-taking, and proactiveness.

[2] The 2015 Public Sector Entrepreneurial Survey is conducted to explore the important determinants of entrepreneurial values in the Korean and Chinese public sector. The project is funded under the Global Research Network (GRN) in Korea initiated by Sungkyunkwan University, Yonsei University in Korea, and Zhejiang University in China.

[3] As of September 2019, Korea has 339 public institutions (36 public corporations, 93 quasi-governmental institutions, and 210 non-classified public institutions) (Korea Institute of Public Finance [KIPF], 2019). Public corporations include market-type and quasi-market public corporations. Market-type corporations are public enterprises that have assets from two trillion South Korean won (approximately Php87 million), while quasi-market-type are public corporations other than a market-type public corporation. A quasi-governmental institution, on the other hand, is either a fund-management-type or commissioned-service-type quasi-government institution. The only difference is that the management of the fund for the former (fund-management type) is commissioned under the National Finance Act of Korea, whereas a commissioned-service-type is not. Non-classified public institutions are those that do not belong to public corporations or quasi-governmental corporations. See detailed classification of public institutions in the report prepared by the KIPF on Public Institutions in Korea (September 2019, pp. 9-10).

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# Local Government-Volunteer Collaboration for Disaster Risk Management in the Philippines

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*The implementing rules of the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (DRRM) Act of 2010 make specific reference to volunteer participation. Hence, DRRM is an area where local government units (LGUs) need volunteers and have opportunities for volunteer engagement. This article provides examples of volunteering at the local level related to DRRM in the Philippines. It analyzes six cases of the Valuing Volunteering Project, which systematically presented local government and volunteer interactions by looking at how they are legally institutionalized, their systems and structure for coordination, spaces for volunteers to be involved, and their benefits. It interrogates the tension between cooperation, collaboration, and control that are inherent in the relationship between local governments and nongovernment organizations. With government policies that encourage, support, and provide spaces for civic engagement in local government, this exploration can contribute to improving the understanding of LGU-civil society organization engagements through volunteering.*

**Keywords:** *climate change adaptation, collaborative governance, disaster risk reduction management, volunteerism*

"Most of the dead were asleep Friday night when raging floodwaters tore through their homes from swollen rivers and cascaded from mountain slopes following 12 hours of pounding rain in the southern Mindanao region. The region is unaccustomed to the typhoons that are common elsewhere in the archipelago nation."
–*Associated Press*, 17 December 2011 (Typhoon Sendong/Washi)

State volcanologists who have been hunting for a hidden fault discovered a new fault system in Inabanga town that triggered the 7.2-magnitude earthquake that shook Bohol and killed hundreds.
–Diola, C. (*The Philippine Star*), 23 October 2013 (Bohol Earthquake)

"I was talking to the people of Tacloban," said senior presidential aide Rene Almendras. "They said 'we were ready for the wind. We were not ready for the water.' "We tried our very best to warn everybody," he said. "But it was really just overwhelming, especially the storm surge."
–*Associated Press*, 11 November 2013 (Typhoon Haiyan)

The stories above seem unremarkable in a country like the Philippines, where natural disasters like typhoons, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods are common. However, while the Philippines has long been considered as one of the most prone countries to natural disasters, extreme weather conditions have become more frequent in areas in the country that were not considered vulnerable in the past. In other words, climate change has made more places vulnerable and exposed to natural hazards.

The same has been observed in other nations. The impact has accelerated faster and become more severe than anticipated, threatening natural ecosystems and human communities around the world with coastal populations, urban populations, and the fishery and agricultural sectors being most threatened (World Bank, 2013). The transboundary risks and impact associated with climate change (Benzie et al., 2018) now require all levels of government across countries to have increased vigilance with regard to disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) and climate change adaptation (CCA).

This article documents practices of volunteer collaboration in DRRM in selected local government units (LGUs) that have been more vulnerable to natural disasters in the past and that are beginning to face climate change-related challenges. In so doing, the article aims to help inform ways for LGUs to harness and institutionalize volunteer participation to mitigate and adapt to the impact of climate change in their communities.

## Review of Related Literature

### DRRM and Volunteering

The impact of catastrophic natural disasters in the last three decades has sparked global interest in human and organizational response to natural disasters. Examples of such studies include the responses to the 1995 Kobe earthquake in Japan (Tierney & Goltz, 1997), Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, USA (Brennan, Barnett, & Flint, 2005), and the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami in Japan (Daimon & Atsui, 2018; Ogawa et al., 2018).

In general, various groups get involved in disaster risk reduction work, whether from the national government, local government or civil society organizations (CSOs). Problems of coordination are encountered because of the magnitude of devastation that stretch resources and impede relief and rescue operations and logistics (Tierney & Goltz, 1997, p. 2). Local initiatives, however, are difficult to analyze because of the lack of consistency in documenting these efforts (De Leon & Pittock, 2017). Ideally, more systematic investigation, especially with regard to structures and systems of LGU-stakeholder coordination, can lead to better disaster management.

In disaster-prone countries like the Philippines, it is critical that intergovernmental responsibilities are clearly delineated and understood at all levels of government. In terms of emergency response, for instance, it is argued that there should be a key government level that possesses relevant equipment and adequate management capacity while still being close to the ground (Haddow & Bullock, 2006, pp. 78-79 as cited in Col, 2007). In the Philippines, this government level would be the LGUs, from the provincial government down to the barangays, with each having different capacities and roles. At the same time, another challenge is to enable more citizens to participate in the various phases of preparation and execution of response measures (Col, 2007, p. 122).

Coordinating various organizations at different levels is a complex and difficult undertaking (see Kapucu, Arslan, & Collins, 2010). These may involve networks that are "comprised of autonomous organizations and are essentially cooperative endeavors" (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 231). They are sometimes described as loosely formed associations of voluntary organizations, where the network is "based on shared values, trust, solidarity, or consensus" (Wollman, 2003, p. 59 as cited in Kapucu et al., 2010, p. 4). Hence, in such cases, getting organizations to work together is not done through bureaucratic controls, but rather through trust and relationships built. It is an important form of multiorganizational governance whose outcome, if properly coordinated, is better delivery of services for citizens (Provan & Kenis, 2008).

As disasters are experienced at the community level, many communities can expect to be on their own for the first couple of days after the impact (Col, 2007, p. 2). As such, there can be spontaneous and widespread volunteering that occurs during these catastrophic events (Tierney & Goltz, 1997, p. 3). Often, community volunteers are the first responders who act to lessen the impact of disasters in the communities (Brennan et al., 2005). This, though, may have some cultural, historical, and structural causes (see Tierney & Goltz, 1997, p. 4; Luna, 2001). For instance, a study on volunteering during disasters in Japan uses the concept of "debt" and reveals that debt increases support between former and present survivors in disasters through the "pay it forward" principle (Daimon & Atsumi, 2018).

Much of volunteers' effectiveness, however, also depends on how well volunteers can be integrated into the plans to mitigate and prepare for disasters (Col, 2007). Hence, while it is the national and local government's responsibility to protect its people and property from hazards, it is the individuals, households, and communities who have to deal with the initial impact of disasters (Dellica-Wilson, 2005).

Government, communities, and volunteers working together can have tensions, which occur when groups are brought together for the first time and have no prior basis on which to base their trust except for the shared goal to help those in need. Sometimes, the source of tension can be the slowness of the government to move, versus the spontaneous motivation of volunteers to help ease the critical situation (Anheier & Salamon, 1999).

## The Philippines: Disaster-Prone but with Active Citizens

The Philippines has long been among the most vulnerable countries with respect to natural disasters as it sits in a volcano and earthquake belt, and is frequently visited by typhoons (Luna, 2001). Between 1985-2015, the country experienced 410 natural disasters that led to over 40,000 deaths and USD23 billion worth of damages (Center for Local and Regional Governance, 2018). Developing countries like the Philippines are disproportionately affected by climate-related disasters (De Leon & Pittock, 2017).

At the same time, the Philippines has a long history of participation among people's organizations in its governance, dating back to precolonial times (Buendia, 2005, p. 293). Given the history of people's participation in the country, the national government has established institutional and legal frameworks for disaster management, including mechanisms for people's participation in decisionmaking and program implementation, as provided in Republic Act (RA) 10121, also known as the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010. This piece of legislation is important considering the long history of nongovernmental participation in relief and development (Luna, 2001).

Since most disasters are experienced at the community level, LGUs must proactively engage community volunteers, who are often the first responders, in DRRM and CCA. Hence, the country's National Risk Reduction and Management Framework and Plan is cascaded to its LGUs by creating local DRRM councils that formulate and implement their local DRRM plans (RA 10121).

The implementing rules of this law make specific reference to volunteer participation. It states that it is the policy of the state to: engage the participation of civil society organizations (CSOs), the private sector and volunteers in the government's disaster risk reduction programs towards complementation

of resources and effective delivery of services to the citizenry" (Sec. 2-m). Furthermore, the law defines CSOs as "non-state actors whose aims are neither to generate profits nor to seek governing power. CSOs unite people to advance shared goals and interests. They... include nongovernment organizations (NGOs), professional associations, foundations, independent research institutes, community-based organizations (CBOs), faith-based organizations, people's organizations, social movements, and labor unions" (Sec. 3-c).

CSO participation is also outlined in the law to mean participation in all levels of implementation, including representation in the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC), and representation by four accredited CSOs in the local DRRM council (DRRMC). In particular, the law defines key terms (see Sec. 3) such as rehabilitation, risk assessment, resilience, mitigation, disaster response, preparedness, etc. that pertain to actions, measures, and capabilities that need to be built, and as areas where LGUs would most likely need volunteers to be more involved. With the passage of RA 10121 in 2010, a survey of LGUs by the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) in 2013 found high demand for volunteers in the area of disaster preparedness (Aked, 2014, p. 12).

As for developing an institutional framework at the local level, the goal is to establish local disaster risk reduction and management offices (LDRRMOs). It states that "[t]here shall be established an LDRRMO in every province, city and municipality, and a barangay disaster risk reduction and management committee (BDRRMC) in every barangay, which shall be responsible for setting the direction, development, implementation and coordination of disaster risk management programs within their territorial jurisdiction" (Sec. 12). When a disaster or emergency does happen, it is expected that the local DRRMCs shall take the lead in coordination[1] (Sec. 15).

In the Philippines, a number of good practices of local government coordination with volunteers have been documented. These practices include the work done in DRRM in the province of Albay (Alampay, 2017; Lasco et al., 2008) and the institutionalization of citizen involvement in Naga City through the Empowerment Ordinance and the creation of a Naga People's Council (Cariño, 2005). In the case of DRRM and CCA, the local government is considered the government's first line of defense (see RA 10121, Sec. 15), with the LGUs that experience frequent and severe climate hazards being more likely to be aware and responsive to the need for climate change adaptation (Lasco et al., 2008).

However, the places that are most vulnerable to climate hazards are also evolving. This was acknowledged in the DRRM Act, where it defines climate change as: "a change in climate that cannot be identified by changes in the mean and/or variability of its properties and that persists for an extended period typically decades or longer, whether due to natural variability or as

a result of human activity" (RA 10121, Sec. 3-d). With climate change, risks and vulnerabilities also change such that communities not used to extreme conditions have recently experienced large-scale natural calamities. Hence, the places that are vulnerable now may not be the same communities in the past, and the hazards may be more magnified than before. Thus, the government's climate change policy emphasizes the convergence of climate change adaptation with disaster risk reduction and management (World Bank, 2013).

With regard to volunteerism in DRRM, volunteer groups are trying to strike a delicate balance when coordinating with government to optimize service delivery without losing control over their own resources. In Danny Burns' reflection of this concern in one forum in 2013 on Valuing Volunteering in the Philippines (Center for Leadership Citizenship and Democracy, 2013), he said:

> Coordination, and not control, [is] a very important [issue]. In any system based on relationships, diversity is essential as it ensures you don't just end up doing one thing. Very often, when you set up structures they become controlled structures. To do something that doesn't do this is very hard to do. While we're all together in the same room, it's easy to bring these discussions together but we all have different interests and other sets of objectives. If you create a unified process it can homogenize this… whereas you need all these different interests. Where has this happened before? What structures are out there which enable coordination but don't lead to control? (p. 6)

Hence, it is the objective of this article to investigate existing structures and models in the practice of LGU-volunteer collaboration for DRRM-CCA in the Philippines. Given climate change, the article takes lessons from experienced LGUs with regard to their collaboration with local and outside volunteers in the areas of DRRM and CCA. In particular, it investigates the institutions and systems LGUs use that enable better coordination without necessarily taking control of volunteer initiatives and resources.

## Methodology

This article is based on the content and cross-case analyses of six cases—four cases were written by the Center for Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy (CLCD) on DRRM and CCA-related LGU-volunteer interaction—as part of its Valuing Volunteering research agenda in collaboration with Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) Bahaginan and Institute of Development Studies (IDS) (Burns, 2015).

The four cases were identified purposively. Locations where the case studies were conducted are areas where disasters have occurred in the past quarter century—roughly coinciding with the passage of the Local Government Code in 1991—or have been known to be exposed to environmental threats and

vulnerabilities (e.g., earthquake, typhoons, and volcanic eruptions). All four cases are located in Luzon Island, which is in the northern part of the Philippines, where there is also higher incidence of typhoons and higher rainfall (see Figures 1 and 2). The cases documented mechanisms within the local government working with volunteer organizations.

### Figure 1. Typhoon Vulnerability Map
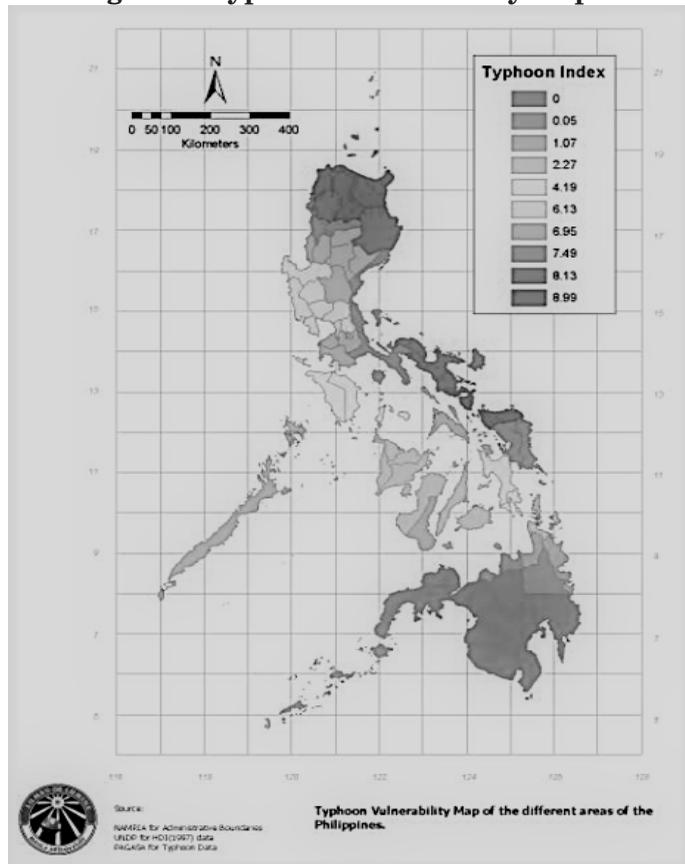


Source: Manila Observatory, n.d., "Climate- and Weather-Related Risk Maps"

Baguio City, for instance, was among the worse-hit cities, in terms of casualties and damage, of the major earthquake that hit Luzon in 1990. Every year, on the anniversary of the earthquake on 16 July, the city recognizes the contributions of volunteers as part of their Disaster Awareness Month. In Marikina's case, the city frequently experiences major flooding incidences, with more frequent occurrences in the past decade. The Province of Albay, on the other hand, sits in a region where most Philippine typhoons regularly pass through

and also has one of the most active volcanoes in the world, Mt. Mayon (Alampay, 2017). Another very active volcano, Taal, is in the middle of the Taal Lake, whose water systems perennially experience human and commercial stresses. These have also resulted in extreme effects on the aquatic resources that sustain the surrounding communities.

The parameters for documenting the cases followed a template that specifically sought the following information:

1) local institutional mechanism for coordinating with volunteers, including legal basis (laws/policies), offices established, structures and systems;

2) list of recent disasters the LGU experienced;

3) examples of highly involved CSOs/NGOs that work with the LGU; and

4) types of DRR-related voluntary work/participation.

Information were gathered from the LGUs and CSOs that were identified to be working with them through personal interviews (see Table 1). The types of volunteer activities related to DRR that were mentioned in the cases were then categorized according to the following DRR stages of activities: mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery. Given that the four LGU cases had the same information systematically collected, a comparison of the four cases was tabulated to aid in the analysis.

**Table 1. Interviews Conducted for the Cases**

| Case | Period | Respondent |
|---|---|---|
| Marikina | 14, 17 May, 4 June 2013 | Two DRRM officers<br>City Environment Management Office (CEMO) department head<br>One barangay chairperson<br>One volunteer group (Rotary Club president) |
| Baguio | 19-20 September 2013 | City administrator<br>City environment and parks officer<br>Two city councilors<br>Six Baguio-Benguet Public Information and Civic Action Group Philippines, Inc. (BB-PICAG) officers and volunteers |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Albay | 25-26 March 2013 | Albay Public Safety and Emergency Management Office (APSEMO) head<br>APSEMO operations staff<br>Six volunteers (from Philippine Red Cross, LGU, and local media) |
| Taal | April-May 2013 | Albay Public Safety and Emergency Management Office (APSEMO) head<br>APSEMO operations staff<br>Six volunteers (from Philippine Red Cross, LGU, and local media) |

## Figure 2. Rainfall Vulnerability Map (Bohol Encircled)
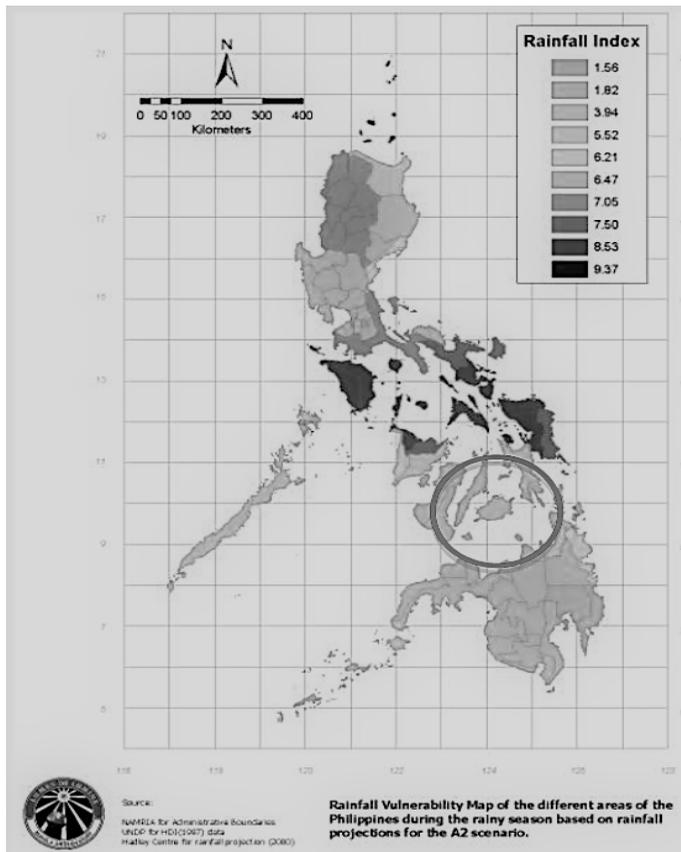


Source: Manila Observatory, n.d., "Climate- and Weather-Related Risk Maps"

In addition, VSO Bahaginan, a partner of CLCD in the Valuing Volunteering project, conducted two case studies that are presented here as separate cases. One was the case of a community in Bohol Province in Central Visayas. Bohol's climate is fairer in comparison, with lower rainfall and typhoon vulnerability than the location of the other cases (see Figure 2). It also does not have any active volcanoes. The case documents a community grappling with climate change-related challenges (Aked, 2014), but had none of the major vulnerabilities or experiences faced in the other cases. This case discusses some of the challenges from the perspective of the community and volunteers with regard to participating in the governance of its watershed. It is presented as a counterpoint to the others, where some systems are already in place, and in the context of a recent earthquake and a very strong typhoon that hit Bohol in late 2013. The case highlights the need to develop and strengthen institutional mechanisms for collaboration.

The other case was that of VSO Bahaginan's work in Cebu through the Persons with Disabilities Office (PDAO) that was based on an interview with a VSO Bahaginan national program manager. The case documents their experience in mobilizing volunteers of relief efforts to help victims of Typhoon Haiyan in 2013.

These two cases are used as counterpoint to the more established cases, while also triangulating similar themes and institutional challenges with regard to integrating volunteer work in LGUs from the perspective of CSOs.

## Findings

### Communities with strong DRRM experiences

The first four cases provide examples of government offices located in different levels of the bureaucracy. Two are DRRM offices at the city level (Marikina and Baguio), one is at the provincial level (Albay), and another is a special body (Taal Volcano Protected Landscape) covering a particular common interest area, a protected area, that cuts across a number of LGUs (see Table 2).

## Table 2. Summary Matrix of LGU-NGO Collaboration in Four Disaster-Prone LGUs

|  | **Marikina City** | **Albay Province** | **Taal Volcano Protected Landscape**[2] | **Baguio City** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coordinating Office of LGU | Marikina Disaster Risk Reduction Management Council (and Office) (MDRMMC), Volunteer Office, City Environment Management Office (CEMO) | Albay Public Safety and Emergency Management Office (APSEMO) | Protected Area Management Board (PAMB) | CDRRMC, City Disaster Operations Center, City Environment and Parks Management Office (CEPMO) |
| Recent Disaster | Typhoon Ondoy (September 2009) Typhoon Falcon (June 2011) Typhoon Pedring (September 2011) Habagat (2012) | Mayon Volcano eruption (2009) Typhoon Juaning (2011) | Fish kill incidents in 2008 and 2011 | 1990 Baguio earthquake (Typhoons and heavy rains in 1972 led to the NGO formation) |
| NGO/Volunteers Participating | Marikina Rotary Club, Boy Scouts of the Philippines, Philippine Red Cross (PRC) - Marikina Chapter, Magdalo Group, Marikina City Bikers, *Kabalikat* Civicom, Lions Club Marikina, Reservists - Marikina Chapter, Tzu-Chi Foundation, SF Fire Brigade volunteers, Rusty Lopez Fire Rescue, city employees, student volunteers | PRC, Albay Health Emergency Management (AHEM) Program | *Pusod, Kilusan ng Maliliit na Mangingisda sa Lawa ng Taal (KMMLT), Tanggol Kalikasan,* Taal Lake Aquaculture Alliance, Inc. (TLAAI), Yellow Ladies*, Samahan ng Magbabangka* | Baguio-Benguet Public Information Civic Action Group (BB-PICAG) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Volunteer Involvement<br><br>(Note: what were not documented were the important work in psychosocial support (from Ormoc, Pinatubo, to Ondoy, Pablo, and Haiyan), which were often provided through outside/ volunteer help.) | **Mitigation:** Education and information dissemination, training and seminars on first aid and rescue techniques<br><br>**Response:** Medical assistance, feeding of evacuees, donation and solicitation of relief goods for distribution to survivors<br><br>**Recovery:** Cleaning and clearing operations after calamities | **Mitigation/ Preparedness:** Awareness raising, information dissemination, evacuation drills<br><br>**Response:** Emergency response, volunteer time and funds | **Planning/Public Consultation:** Participation in public consultations<br><br>**Mitigation/ Preparedness:** Environmental monitoring of Taal Lake and Volcano,[3] climate change preparedness and disaster response drills among the high-priority areas, participation in planning<br><br>**Response**: Evacuation and relief<br><br>**Recovery:** Lake clean-up | **Planning:** Participation in City Council planning<br><br>**Mitigation/ Preparedness:** Clean-up, tree-planting activities, crowd control during festivals and celebrations, and information education campaigns<br><br>**Response**: Manpower, equipment and technical support, communication teams and other volunteer groups on-call, participation in medical missions, emergency medical services, first aid and emergency transport, providing public information in the search, rescue and retrieval operations, solicitation and distribution of relief goods |
| Ordinance/Legal Framework | Ordinance 264 of 1998 (Rescue 161), City Ordinance 32 of 2011 (Creation of the MDRRMO) | Provincial resolutions creating the APSEMO | National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) Act of 1992, RA 10121 (Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010), implementation of Writ of Kalikasan | RA 10121, memoranda of agreement (MOAs) signed with partners |
| Benefit of Working with LGU | Logistical support: venue for project implementation, transportation and mobilization, manpower support, financial support for feeding volunteers, and helps target assistance to those in most need. | LGU provides equipment, financial assistance and trained human resource. | Volunteer/NGO help is critical because the local government also has limited resources and cannot do this alone. | Logistical support: office space, transportation, rescue vehicles, equipment, food and medical attention to volunteers, and other in-kind support, preparatory training, coordination of mobilized resources (volunteers, services, goods) |

| System and Structures for Coordination | MDRRMO serves as monitoring/coordinating body for all relief and rescue volunteers (individual, group, organizations) and donations. | The APSEMO, as an institution, facilitates communication between different stakeholders. The Disaster Operations Center serves as the hub of coordination, communication, and emergency response. | The TVPL Management Plan 2010-2020 underwent 16 consultations (TVPL Management Plan, 2011). | It has a database and directory of human and physical resources from both the City Government and its partner CSOs that can be tapped during disasters. It operates 24/7 to receive and verify reports on disasters in the City and mobilize response teams as needed. |
|---|---|---|---|---|

*The Case of Marikina City*

Marikina City is a low-lying Highly-Urbanized City in Metro Manila. With the Marikina River traversing the city, it is highly vulnerable to floods. This was observed in flooding caused by heavy rains brought about by tropical storms Ondoy in September 2009, Falcon and Pedring in June and September 2011 respectively, and the *habagat* (southwest monsoon) in 2012.

The passage of Ordinance 264 in 1998 led to the establishment of Rescue 161 as an emergency preparedness center. In 2011, Ordinance 22 paved the way for the institutionalization of the Marikina Disaster Risk Reduction Management Office (MDRRMO) and provided for its roles and functions, which were structured into three stages—first stage is the groundwork or pre-disaster; second stage is during the disaster; and the third stage is the recovery or post-disaster, which includes rehabilitation and clean-up. Volunteers from different CSOs and NGOs in Marikina are being involved in all of these three stages. They participate in a series of disaster management preparedness activities, such as trainings, seminars, workshops, and drills that equip them with proper skills during calamities and disasters.

In pre-disaster stage, the City DRRM Council and the LGU conduct various activities and training workshops. One training where volunteer organizations in the city have been involved was the training in preparation for the volunteers and Marikina DRRM employees in the event of a disaster. Another training conducted by the MDRRMO was conducted in partnership with VSO Bahaginan. The topics in this training include volunteering management system, orientation of the roles and participation of the volunteers in the city, basic incidence command system, and strategic planning.

During the onset of a calamity or disaster, the LGU through the MDRRMO is the first responder along with local volunteers. Coordination and communication are very crucial and important at this stage. The LGU has an enormous responsibility and the MDRRMO serves as the headquarters for the volunteers.

Once the disaster or calamity has subsided, the MDRRMO engages the assistance of local community and NGO volunteers in cleaning and clearing up activities. Sometimes, they also request additional manpower from the volunteer management office.

*The Case of Albay Province*

The Albay Public Safety and Emergency Management Office (APSEMO), formerly the Provincial Disaster Management Office (PDMO), was created in 1994 to govern and promote efficient provincial disaster risk reduction interventions and management programs. As the center of coordination, communication, and emergency response in all types of emergencies and disasters, APSEMO is responsible for during-and-after-disaster interventions.

APSEMO, as an independent department, has strengthened the disaster management capability of the Provincial Government of Albay. The establishment of this body has ensured the continuity of the province's programs on disaster management and strengthened the effective coordination of various institutions for more efficient management.

Volunteers identified the Mayon Volcano eruption in 2009 and the Typhoon Juaning in 2011, among several disaster events, as examples in which they were able to participate and help the LGU by volunteering.

During the Mayon Volcano eruption, the volunteers served in different capacities. Their roles ranged from assessment of evacuation areas, serving as emergency response unit (ERU), information dissemination, relief operation, up to health check-ups and distribution of medicines. In the assessment of evacuation areas, the volunteers made sure that the identified areas were safe and properly equipped to handle evacuees. This also meant checking the capacity of facilities to handle the number of evacuees.

During Typhoon Juaning, volunteers were mainly assigned in the rescue operation and assessment of communities. During the rescue operation, the Philippine Red Cross (PRC) volunteers responded through the instruction and coordination of APSEMO, but with the endorsement by the PRC.

*The Case of the Taal Volcano Protected Landscape*

The Taal Volcano Protected Landscape (TVPL) Management Plan mentions volunteer involvement in monitoring the water quality of Taal Lake. The Protected Area Management Board (PAMB) established a system of citizen monitoring where all volunteer testing results are sent to the protected area superintendent (PASu) office through email or fax within a few days of monitoring (TVPL Management Plan, 2011). Volunteers from the academe have also provided assistance in monitoring the dissolved oxygen in the lake.

The nonprofit organization *Pusod*, Inc. and the people's organization *Kilusan ng Maliliit na Mangingisda sa Lawa ng Taal* (KMMLT) are members of the PAMB and are able to take part in public consultations. The NGO *Tanggol Kalikasan*, on the other hand, contributes in the crafting of the TVPL Management Plan. Through these organizations, volunteers are given opportunity to participate in the planning process.

Various community volunteers participate in quarterly coastal clean-up. They also monitor illegal fish cage operators. In times of disasters, NGOs like the Taal Lake Aquaculture Alliance, Inc. (TLAAI) also help in lakeshore clean-up and in relief goods distribution. A workers' organization, the *Samahan ng Magbabangka*, serves as guardians of the Taal Lake.

Officials from the Municipal Disaster Risk and Reduction Council (MDRRMC) observe that volunteers are active when there are incidents, and acknowledges that LGUs cannot survive without volunteers since they are the ones who are there at the onset of a calamity. Volunteers from nearby areas, such as students from De La Salle Lipa, also take part in Taal Lake clean-up drives as part of their National Service Training Program classes.

*The Case of Baguio City*

Cognizant of the city's vulnerability to disasters and climate change and the need to safeguard the environment's sustainability, the City Mayor's Office has taken a Green Governance thrust with its slogan "Baguio SOARS" (sustainable, optimistic, adaptive, resilient, and socially inclusive). Towards this direction, two offices play pivotal roles—the City Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (CDRRMC) and the City Environment and Parks Management Office (CEPMO).

Baguio City recognizes the pivotal roles of volunteers in local socioeconomic development. Apart from the manpower and skills they offer, volunteer groups also contribute financial and in-kind donations as well as expert advice, which are vital in augmenting limited local government resources and ensuring efficient and effective operations and service delivery. These volunteer groups are formally recognized with their participation in the City Development Council, task forces, and other bodies that foster and develop volunteering, and the passage of local legislations acknowledging their contributions and support to the city.

A noteworthy program of CEPMO was the *Salaknib ti Waig* (Guardians of Rivers), which promotes transboundary management of water systems in the province of Benguet. With the institutionalization of the program, efforts of the LGUs, NGOs, the academe, and private individuals and organizations in Benguet in the revitalization and protection of waterways, streams, and streamlets are harmonized. Initiatives of these volunteer individuals and groups include clean-

up drives, tree and bamboo planting, water and waste water management, information dissemination, and policy implementation and monitoring. CEPMO also assigned and trained a focal person to attend to the queries of the public regarding the program and on how they can be involved in it.

Another good practice of Baguio City was its active engagement with volunteer organizations. Through the support from the local government, volunteer individuals and groups, such as first responders, first aiders, communication teams, etc., are not only ready to provide their assistance during disasters and in other civic endeavors of the LGU, such as medical missions, clean-up and tree planting activities, crowd control during festivals and celebrations, and information education campaigns, but they are also involved in planning activities of the Council.

*Harnessing Good Practices in LGU-Volunteer Collaboration*

In all four cases, LGUs all work with volunteer organizations, but in varying degrees of involvement and types of volunteer organizations. Some provide specialized and technical support, e.g., the PRC, which helps in health and medical needs, and the volunteers from the university, who help in monitoring water quality. There are also locally based people's organizations with strong interest in environmental concerns, such as the group of fisherfolk in TVPL (e.g., Samahan ng Magbabangka).

Volunteer involvement is also observed in the various phases of DRRM. Some are already actively involved in the planning process and in the conduct of the LGU's public consultations (e.g., Baguio).

In mitigation-related activities, volunteers help in raising awareness through information and education campaigns, drills, and first aid trainings. Immediately after a disaster, volunteers get involved in soliciting donations, providing food and relief to survivors, and giving medical help. Some provide communications support.

The recovery aspect involves ways for getting the environment back to good health. Volunteers get involved through cleaning and clearing operations, and clean-up of waterways (e.g., Taal Lake).

The various LGUs in the four cases have coordinative bodies even though they are located at different levels in government. It may be at the city level (as with the cities of Marikina and Baguio), provincial level (Albay), or a special body (PAMB). What matters is that these offices possess relevant equipment and adequate management capacity (Haddow & Bullock, 2006, pp. 78-79, as cited in Col, 2007). In fact, these were among the prominent benefits of working with LGUs given in the cases. Among them were: logistical support, provision of

manpower and work/office space, better coordination, and targeting of services/ goods towards those who are in most need.

Some stakeholders, however, raised concerns as regards politics and leadership change in LGUs and becoming overly dependent on the LGU themselves. To protect from this, establishing more permanent institutions through local ordinances, and having formal memoranda of agreement (MOAs) were among the good practices that were done. The employment of these legal instruments minimizes the influence of politics and leadership change, and assures the sustainability of the partnership or collaboration (Alampay, 2017). The MOAs also provide clarity regarding each party's roles and responsibilities.

Some of the people interviewed in the cases provided realistic expectations and insights. They recognize that LGUs have limitations with regard to resources and skills. Because of these limitations, they also need expertise that NGOs and other volunteers provide.  This reality is also acknowledged in RA 10121, which stipulates that "government agencies, CSOs, private sector and LGUs may mobilize individuals or organized volunteers to augment their respective personnel complement and logistical requirements in the delivery of disaster risk reduction programs and activities" (Sec. 13).

## Facing New Vulnerabilities Due to Climate Change

The other two cases in this study involve volunteer participation in LGUs in the Visayas—the watershed management of the Provincial Government of Bohol and the experience of VSO Bahaginan with the LGUs in the province of Cebu in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan.

*Volunteering in Carood Watershed of Bohol*

The Bohol experience provides a counterpoint to the previous four cases discussed because its location is not in the usual typhoon path. However, precipitation can still be induced by typhoons that pass near the island. Rainfall in Bohol tends to be more evenly distributed throughout the year. Nonetheless, as an island, it is still vulnerable to other natural calamities, such as drought, tsunamis, landslides, storm surges, and earthquakes.[4]

When a major earthquake[5] hit Bohol Province in 2013, a conflict arose with regard to distribution of relief goods (Matus, 2013). It was reported that NGOs were suspicious of the interests of the mayors who wanted a more centralized, targeted, and coordinated system for distribution. The LGUs, on the other hand, had issues with the volunteers from the PRC who insisted on doing relief work independently or with conditionalities (Matus & Santos, 2013). This incident highlights tensions that could occur between volunteers and the LGUs in

communities with relatively less experience in dealing with disaster situations, and less experience with working together.

Aked's (2014) case focus, however, is not about efforts in the 2013 earthquake response, but rather, with respect to management of the Carood Watershed in Bohol Province. Aked's research on valuing volunteering was already focused on this area prior to the occurrence of the earthquake. The watershed itself is not currently classified as a critical watershed by the government and, hence, does not receive central government financing (unlike in the case of Taal, which is a protected area under RA 7586[6]). However, climate change projections for the province indicate that there will be a 9.8% increase in seasonal rainfall by 2020, and up to 21.2% by 2050 (Aked, 2014, p. 10). This implies that the province's and the watershed's vulnerability is increasing because of the changing climate.

### Table 3. Summary Matrix of LGU-Volunteer Collaboration in the Case of Carood Watershed and Cebu Province (Typhoon Haiyan)

|  | **Bohol Province** | **Cebu** |
|---|---|---|
| Coordinating Office of LGU | Carood Watershed Model Forest Management Council (CWMFMC) | Persons with Disabilities Office (PDAO) in Cebu |
| Recent Disaster/ Projected Vulnerability | Bohol Earthquake (2013) (although this case is focused more on the watershed)<br><br>Soil run off can affect the health of corals and, therefore, marine livelihoods and Candijay is prone to flooding. Climate change predictions for the province estimate a 9.8% increase in seasonal rainfall by 2020, up to 21.2% by 2050. | Typhoon Haiyan |
| Example of Volunteers Participating | Through the CWMFMC, the people's organizations represent some of the poorest communities in Carood, VSO Bahaginan volunteers, international, national, local, diaspora volunteers, and local volunteers organized informally and through people's organizations. | VSO Volunteers |

| Volunteer Involvement | Local volunteers: management and stewardship of forest land, agro-forestry (maintenance and restoration of forest cover) to reduce impact of conversion of land to agricultural, work on rehabilitating mangroves<br><br>National and diaspora: local capacity building<br><br>International volunteers: organizational capacity building, research and development | **Mitigation:** Education and awareness building<br><br>**Response:** First responders (from existing pool of national volunteers, particularly those not directly affected)<br><br>Relief and rehabilitation |
|---|---|---|
| Ordinance/ Legal Framework | Community-based forest management agreements (CBFMA), creation of the CWMFMC by the provincial government | MOA with LGUs |
| Benefit of Working with LGU | Greater council support would bring them encouragement and make the practicalities of doing work on the watershed easier. | Coordination, making sure that the needs of the most vulnerable are addressed |
| System of Coordination | Sometimes national volunteering organization VSO Bahaginan mediated | Through the Persons with Disabilities Office (PDAO) |
| Lessons | Cooperation between municipalities was difficult particularly with regard to resource sharing and its use.<br><br>Community confidence to tackle development challenges can result from volunteers and communities working together.<br><br>Politics can negatively affect volunteer work. | Previous working relationship/ history with LGU helps establish trust.<br><br>It is difficult to activate volunteer networks and their leaders in directly and seriously affected areas. Thus, communication protocols need to be developed.<br><br>It is important to get LGUs to buy in to the collaboration by knowing what they can gain from it. |
| How Volunteers Coordinate with LGU | Through CWMFMC, the POs represent some of the poorest communities in Carood. | Sometimes long relationship with LGUs allows VSO to go directly to beneficiaries, or through the PDAO office. |

In 2003, the Carood Watershed Model Forest Management Council (CWMFMC) was set up by the Provincial Governor. It is a multistakeholder body that includes representatives from six LGUs, people's organizations (POs; e.g., community-based forest management areas), NGOs (including VSO), government agencies and the Bohol Island State University (Aked, 2014). Volunteer involvement in the area is varied, but includes international, national, and diaspora volunteers aside from local volunteers. The non-local volunteers are more involved in raising capacity of the locals, doing research and liaison work through their network connections.

The local volunteers, on the other hand, work more directly on aspects of stewardship and rehabilitation of the environment (see Table 3). The area was not as badly damaged, in comparison to other parts of Bohol, when the earthquake in 2013 hit the province.

Aked (2014) reports, however, that what was on paper was not necessarily how things were implemented. She says that on paper, CWMFMC has all the hallmarks of a well-governed policymaking body for the watershed. However, it struggles "to meet basic requirements of good governance like participation and collaboration" (Aked, 2014, p. 84). In particular, Aked mentions how POs end up being implementers of plans rather than active participants in the conceptualization of the plans and policies itself. PO representatives often ended up just listening in meetings, rather than being active participants in the discussion, and were never given an opportunity to handle or lead the meetings. Some felt they were not being taken seriously because they were less educated and could not understand some of the documents they process, which were written in English and not in the local language. Aked (2014) argues that improving governance is more of a cultural than a structural issue. It requires a reconceptualization of leadership from a position of "command-and-control" to a distributed activity that builds from the strength of the diverse skills and knowledge base of the people.

*Volunteering in Cebu*

The second case involves VSO Bahaginan's work in Cebu in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan. The VSO Bahaginan is one of the more active organizations that try to facilitate LGU-volunteer collaboration in the Philippines. With their long experience in LGU-volunteer collaboration, it is important to consider VSO Bahaginan's views on the matter, particularly during the most recent disasters that hit the country, such as the Bohol earthquake and Typhoon Haiyan in 2013. Their experience as shared by one of their volunteer managers is summarized in Table 3.

According to one of VSO Bahaginan's program managers for volunteers, working with LGUs is part of their protocol since this contributes to making their work more efficient. Much of the work of VSO Bahaginan are specific to helping the most vulnerable. Their work on climate change is built on building resiliency for these groups (e.g., persons with disabilities, youth) and catered on education and awareness building.

After Typhoon Haiyan hit the Philippines in late 2013, VSO Bahaginan activated their national volunteer network. Prior to Typhoon Haiyan, VSO Bahaginan already had a pool of national volunteers working in the Visayas—Cebu, Bohol, and some parts of Samar—that they could mobilize. Unfortunately, the volunteers and team leaders in the field, who would have been the first

responders, were themselves victims and survivors of the calamity. When the typhoon hit, they had no way to reach out to volunteers and leaders in the field because there were no communication protocols to work with.

Nonetheless, they found help through their network of national volunteers that were not as affected. Hence, their volunteers from Western Samar were mobilized to help the people affected in Leyte Province. Because they found it difficult to activate their local network in the hardest-hit provinces of Leyte and Samar given the immensity of the damage, they let the more equipped international NGOs work in those areas. Instead, VSO Bahaginan decided to concentrate their resources in Cebu Province, which was also severely affected. Their experience in Cebu was particularly informative in the context of LGU-volunteer collaboration.

Cebu had an existing volunteer office through the LGU's Persons with Disabilities Office (PDAO)[7], and a structure that was easy to mobilize. Because the PDAO had personnel limitations, this had to be complemented by volunteers. At the onset of Typhoon Haiyan, it required activation of this volunteer pool. The program manager claims that the activation and mobilization of volunteers was well documented, from 8 November 2013, right after the typhoon hit, until the rehabilitation stage. During the disaster, the PDAO no longer focused only on disability concerns. It leveraged their structure and volunteers to work on disaster and relief operations. Volunteer leaders communicated with VSO Bahaginan through short message service (SMS) regarding their relief and emergency needs and coordinating the logistics (e.g., people, equipment, relief goods) to Bantayan Island (in Cebu Province). Because they already had a prior relationship with the local government, they were able to quickly mobilize. They worked with and through the Cebu Provincial LGU that housed the PDAO.

According to the VSO Bahaginan volunteer program manager, it is difficult to start a project in places where their organization has no existing relationship. When you start projects with LGUs, especially on DRRM, there has to be some level of prior work history so that you have an entry point already. The LGU also has to see that working with the volunteers and volunteer organizations is mutually beneficial.

## Discussion

Although these case studies are not generalizable, they are instructive in illustrating the various areas where volunteers can be involved in with respect to the various stages of DRRM and the importance of strengthening and institutionalizing LGU-volunteer collaboration.

Based on the cases, local governments need to recognize that there are various types and levels of volunteer involvement that arise in DRRM. Some volunteers are local while some are external (provincial, national, international). Likewise, the systems they establish may also serve other communities, other than their own. As such, local volunteers' capacity need to be strengthened since they are often the first line of defense. Many of the cases highlighted the importance of building capacity through trainings and how useful volunteers are for information and educational campaigns in the community.

In very extreme disasters, however, local systems and DRRM networks might break down. Help from neighboring LGUs would be needed in these cases. Volunteer networks that LGUs develop over time have an important role. They can serve as the initial support for neighboring municipalities should total breakdown of systems and infrastructure occur in directly affected communities. Hence, inter-LGU networks must also be in place, including systems for collaboration with NGO-volunteers in other nearby localities. It requires networking and coordination skills to recognize the role of external volunteers in complementing and supporting the capacity of locals. External volunteers are also crucial when local volunteers are extremely affected by a disaster. The successful adoption of this type of network governance for DRRM will be dependent on four key structural and relational contingencies: trust, size (number of groups involved), goal consensus, and the nature of the task (Provan & Kenis, 2008).

## Pragmatic Reality for Volunteers

VSO Bahaginan's volunteer program manager says collaborating with LGUs cannot be avoided even for those who are not supportive of its incumbent administration.

An NGO program assistant of Pusod in Batangas noted that one reason they work with government is to help the LGU know what has to be done to attain the goal of zero casualties in the event of a disaster. They also see that LGUs have limited manpower and often do not have enough people who can be in the field/areas at all times. Hence, from the perspective of volunteers and volunteer organizations, they are needed by government.

On the other hand, volunteer organizations also say that working with the LGU and getting formal endorsements from them also helps the NGO organize the community and give them access in the area. In many of the cases, it was also acknowledged that going through LGUs help in coordination and identification of what is needed and who are in most need of help. Furthermore, local governments can also provide other resources for training, logistical support, funding, manpower, office space, etc.

## Develop Institutional Stability

The issue of politics has been raised in some of the cases, specifically in the Bohol case. Politics is an unavoidable reality in LGU-volunteer collaboration. For some volunteers, politics can sometimes get in the way of preparations for disasters, especially in communities where there is no strong support for the incumbent administration. As such, the challenge is how to make both those in power and those working with volunteers and beneficiaries recognize that collaboration is mutually beneficial.

Hence, to shield volunteer work and the collaboration from politics, it has to be formalized through contracts and memoranda of agreements and, if possible, institutionalization of volunteer programs within the LGUs itself through the establishment of volunteer desks or offices. In so doing, funding for it can also be sustained through the local budget, regardless of changes in leadership. An example of this is Albay's APSEMO, which is a permanent office (Alampay, 2017), and Cebu's PDAO. Marikina, on the other hand, has a volunteer office, although during disasters, it is their local MDRRMO that coordinates the various groups. Having MOAs, as in Baguio's case, help indicate the expected outputs, roles, and responsibilities of both parties, and the protocols that have to be followed to ensure the safety of volunteers and avoid political color or self-interest in the adoption and implementation of programs.

From the cases presented, it was seen, for instance, how some LGUs have put in place their local DRRM offices. Some of their initiatives actually pre-date the passage of RA 10121. These LGUs were more attuned to the need for a DRRM legislation because of their high vulnerabilities to begin with (Lasco et al., 2008).

## Cultural Challenges to Collaboration

For collaboration to be successful, having structures and institutions are not enough. There should be a real resolve and interest to work together.

According to Aked (2014), collaboration is as much a cultural issue as it is a structural one. Cultural change, however, is something that has to happen in both the LGU and its partner volunteers and NGOs. On the one hand, government officials have to be mindful of being less controlling and more facilitating. On the other hand, local volunteers need to be more assertive and confident that they have good ideas to contribute.

Likewise, inherent biases from some volunteers and NGOs result in some resistance to collaboration with government. The pragmatic reality is that volunteer groups cannot avoid working with government, especially in DRRM.  For LGUs with a long history of experiencing the impact of natural

calamities and weather disturbances, mutual interest in collaboration has already become more established from the collective experience they have gone through as communities. This may not be the case yet with communities whose vulnerabilities are just getting exposed (e.g., Bohol). For those without this shared experience, trust needs to be developed through opportunities they actually co-create. If possible, some of this can be done through collaborative work in mitigation-related activities. The experience in Qing Long County in China, for instance, shows how buy-in is easier once a disaster strikes if the community has already been involved in the planning and mitigation processes (Col, 2007).

Equally important is the huge challenge in climate change adaptation work. According to the World Bank (2013), institutional capacity as regards CCA should be developed, especially technical capacity at the local level, which is hampered by poor access to CCA knowledge and information. CSOs serve an important role in ensuring the implementation of the climate change agenda by raising awareness, building trust in communities, and exerting pressure for increased transparency (World Bank, 2013). This was exemplified in Pusod's work in Taal, and the challenges of which was also highlighted by Aked (2014) in the experience in Carood Watershed management.

**Effective Collaboration Takes Time**

As with all bureaucracies, efficiency gains through the collaboration will eventually come but not right away. It is not ideal that the first collaboration between the LGU and the volunteer organization is during the onset of a disaster itself. Collaboration is a process, and as Aked (2014) reflected in Bohol's case: "receiving and managing volunteers has been a learning process for LGUs and POs, so it is unsurprising that not everyone gets it right [the] first time" (p. 55). Hence, volunteers need to be already involved and active in local affairs. People's participation, for one, is enshrined in the country's constitution and the Local Government Code of 1991. Levels of active engagement and capacity among local partners have effects on the speed of learning and innovation as well as the motivation of volunteers. In the case of Baguio City, for instance, volunteers are already involved in traffic management and crowd control during festivals. In Taal, volunteers are engaged in technical monitoring of water quality and some aspects of tourism management. LGUs and volunteers can also work together in many things, from DRRM-related activities to something completely different, such as empowering people with disabilities.

Both the government and NGOs have to work together for trust to develop and social capital to be built. Only by establishing areas of collaboration on which relationships can be developed can trust be established. This is important given how some recent experiences in disaster work (e.g., Bohol earthquake relief) has shown how distrust can be a hindrance to efficient delivery of disaster relief.

That said, even if relationships are built, one challenge is that LGUs are run by political leaders. Elected LGU officials may change after an election and, hence, relationships that have been established and took time to nurture can also be lost. Thus, there should be some sustainability in the institutions and leadership that deal with volunteers. The same applies with the volunteer groups—volunteer leaders should not be transient, especially the ones at the local level, such as those in people's organizations.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

According to Anheier and Salamon (1999), "volunteering is part of the way societies are organized, how they allocate social responsibilities, and how much engagement and participation they expect from citizens" (p. 43). As such, the nature of the state-society relationship is important in shaping the role of volunteering in nation-building. It can also be assumed that the same applies at the local level, where the local governments' relationships with NGOs also shape the kind of collaboration they have in providing services to the public, including DRRM-related services.

Volunteers, whether individually or through NGOs, often step up to address gaps in services, and end up engaging in collaborative partnerships with public and private organizations with varying degrees of formality (Simo & Bies, 2007). One of the incentives for collaborating with voluntary groups in active co-production is maximizing the amount of service per money invested. The return on investment for resources put into organizing co-production activities is probably higher than the return to be expected from resources put into additional equipment, facilities, and personnel (Rich, 1981, p. 63). This is perhaps the pragmatic motivation for LGU-volunteer collaborations in DRRM.

Communities that are more exposed to extreme weather or have experienced natural and human-caused disasters, many of which are in the Philippines, tend to have a better understanding of the link between environment and disasters. Convincing and getting people involved are much easier in such environments, especially in places where recent occurrences can heighten motivations for individuals to volunteer and take action. These realities present opportunities for local governments to harness and institutionalize community involvement, especially with regard to climate change and reducing the exposure of vulnerable groups to its disastrous effects.

The cases discussed and analyzed, along with interviews with some volunteers and volunteer managers and organizations, indicate mixed successes in how LGU-volunteer collaboration has been done. The four cases illustrated how community resiliency can be strengthened through stronger involvement of volunteers in DRRM efforts, while considering how people interact with their

environment (e.g., monitoring water quality, planting trees, waste segregation, proper waste disposal, living in less risky places, etc.).

With climate change, however, the landscape of communities becoming more vulnerable to extreme weather conditions is changing. Because of this, LGUs in areas that are newly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change (such as the southern regions of the Philippines) should be preparing for higher frequency of disasters affecting their areas. Given that volunteers will always be involved and are integral to disaster mitigation and response work, preparations should include developing systems for coordinating volunteer work.

While not always perfect, collaborative partnerships, once trust develops over time, can operate more efficiently. The need for control, which is inherent in some bureaucracies, should be balanced by giving the LGUs authority to coordinate the networks of groups involved while at same time leveraging the diversity of skills, motivations, and interests among its volunteers.

## Endnotes

[1] Who takes the lead is based on the following criteria: (1) The barangay development council (BDC), if a barangay is affected;(2) the city/municipal DRRMCs, if two or more barangays are affected; (3) the provincial DRRMC, if two or more cities/municipalities are affected; (4) The regional DRRMC, if two or more provinces are affected; and (5) the NDRRMC, if two or more regions are affected.

[2] Included in the TVPL basin are the municipalities of Talisay, Laurel, Agoncillo, San Nicolas, Taal, Lemery, San Jose, Santa Teresita, Alitagtag, Cuenca, Mataas na Kahoy, Balete, Malvar, and the cities of Lipa and Tanauan in the Province of Batangas; and Tagaytay City in the Province of Cavite.

[3] Monitors threats on the lake such as unregulated fish-cage culture, overfishing, sewage discharge and soil erosion and unregulated mass tourism.

[4] Taken from BIAD 2 Proposal to Mainstream DRRM in Bohol's Comprehensive Land Use Plan.

[5] The earthquake resulted in a discovery of a previously unknown fault, now referred to as the North Bohol Fault.  The toll from the earthquake included 222 reported dead, 8 missing, and 976 injured. In all, more than 73,000 structures were damaged, of which more than 14,500 were totally destroyed.

[6] Also known as the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) Act of 1992.

[7] VSO Bahaginan worked with them on election-related matters concerning the rights of people with disabilities to participate in elections in 2013.

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# Participation of Persons Deprived of Liberty in Disaster Risk Reduction in Philippine Jails

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*Incarceration facilities in the Philippines are vulnerable to impacts of natural disasters. The lack of research and policy intervention in this area of prison management and governance, coupled with existing natural hazards and other vulnerabilities, makes persons deprived of liberty (PDLs) a high risk but low priority minority group in disaster management. This study looks into the situation of PDLs in four selected Philippine jails, namely, city jails of Caloocan, Manila, and Tacloban, and San Mateo Municipal Jail. It presents the recurring patterns and observable behavior of PDLs during disaster events and the level of their participation in disaster risk reduction management (DRRM) programs. Current prison management policies prohibit PDLs from assisting with the prison administration. However, a gap in policy and practice caused by lack of personnel and resources makes the participation of PDLs necessary. Although further research is needed to identify the underlying mechanisms and relations, findings suggest the advantages of formalizing PDL participation in DRRM to achieve better operationalization of DRRM-related activities and attaining orderly prison management.*

**Keywords:** *participation, Philippine jails, persons deprived of liberty, disaster risk reduction and management, natural hazards*

Philippine jails and prisons, similar to other communities, are vulnerable to disasters. Persons deprived of liberty (PDLs) acknowledge that they are surrounded by threats, such as illness, violence, and hunger, among others. However, Gaillard et al. (2016) argue that "natural hazards rank high amongst the threats inmates and prisoners face in Philippine jails and prisons" as it "disrupt[s] inmates' and prisoners' daily routine" (pp. 5-6). Aside from the risk posed by the occurrence of disaster events, rehabilitation facilities also suffer from the recurring problems of lack of resources, overcrowding, deprivation of social networks, and other internal vulnerabilities. Since jails and prisons in the Philippines are overcrowded, a larger number of PDLs are exposed to potential harm when such facilities are located within hazard-prone areas (Gaillard et al., 2016, p. 6). To cope with these internal conditions and aggravating events, PDLs devised a social system inside the jail where they utilize their capacities and skills to prepare for and respond to a disaster event.

When disasters strike, the struggles of PDLs are often hidden from public view. This topic has also received minimal attention from both scholars and policymakers as manifested by the lack of studies exploring the vulnerabilities of prisons and PDLs in facing hazards and how to strengthen their capacities to mitigate, prepare for, respond to, and recover from the effects of disasters. Upon review of policy documents in the Philippines, it was observed that there are no existing provisions that specify the situation, role, and participation of PDLs in disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM). Faced with more pressing issues such as improving facilities, dealing with sanitary and health concerns, and managing limited resources, DRRM-related activities are pushed aside. These issues show the need to strengthen DRRM policies in correctional facilities. However, the lack of resources is already a major challenge in itself. Responding to disasters seems to rank low in terms of priority of jail administrators. This challenge pushes PDLs to look for an alternative solution through participation.

Though the existence of studies on PDL involvement during disaster planning and preparedness remains to be scarce, some existing information prove that PDLs have the capacity to act and even help the community during disasters. One example is the firefighting force CALFIRE crews composed of PDLs of California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (Brooker, 2013 as cited in Smith, 2016, p. 14). These teams are responsible for responding to emergencies such as fires, earthquakes, search and rescues, and other community emergencies. Another case showing the potential of PDL participation in disaster response is the formation of the *bui* squad or prison squad in Palu Detention Center during the Palu earthquake in Indonesia in 2019 (Rayda, 2019). The squad came to the assistance of various organizations in distributing food, clearing rubbles, and other activities to help rebuild the city.

In light of recent catastrophic events that affected jails and PDLs, Gaillard et al. (2016) looked into the gaps in policies and practices in how the Bureau

of Jail Management and Penology (BJMP) and Bureau of Corrections (BuCor) addressed DRRM-related issues and concerns in jail facilities, specifically in Metro Manila during Typhoon Ondoy in 2009 and in Eastern Visayas during Typhoon Yolanda in 2013. The study noted the conditions of the facilities as well as the high congestion of PDLs that make them more vulnerable to hazards. Gaillard et al. also examined the capacities of PDLs to respond to disasters given the social structure that exists in the Philippine prison system. The study also took note of specific practices of PDLs in Philippine jails in responding to disaster events. In one of the cases presented, Gaillard et al. underscored the effective utilization of PDL participation in San Mateo Municipal Jail during Typhoon Ondoy. The administrators of the said facility tapped the PDL social system in organizing them for DRRM.

According to Gaillard et al. (2016), the informal PDL social system is the primary inter-relational support system being operationalized by the PDLs to meet their basic needs, especially during disasters. The *brigada*, the highest social network among PDLs, is comparable to people's organizations and is often related to gangs (Candaliza-Gutierrez, 2012). The brigada plays an important role in the overall informal governance inside jail facilities. It gives support to build infrastructures and additional assistance to PDLs in times of major emergencies or disasters in exchange for political allegiance (Gaillard et al., 2016). This tapping of available resources shows that PDLs have capacities that may be used in times of disasters.

Various studies underscored the essential role of participation in DRRM. The Hyogo Framework acknowledged the essential role of participation in DRRM. Priority for Action 1 of the Hyogo Framework states that "governments or nations must ensure that disaster risk reduction (DRR) is a national and local priority through community participation" (Phiri, Van Nikerk, & van Eeden, 2016, p. 5) to address local needs. In the context of community-based disaster management, people's participation treats community members as "the main actors and propellers… as they also directly share in the benefits of disaster risk reduction and development" (Victoria, n.d., p. 276). Participation is a way of empowering citizens by allowing them to take pride in making a difference and being entrusted with responsibilities in pursuing disaster mitigation and preparedness. This empowerment leads to ownership and commitment to plans and programs, which result in a concerted action towards DRRM. When DRR is put into the context of the locality and capacities of which are recognized, it produces appropriate and doable solutions that are, at the same time, cost-effective and sustainable (Victoria, n.d.). Without active participation, community members may become reliant on relief and emergency supplies without reducing their risks and vulnerabilities to future disasters.

As demonstrated in the experiences of CALFIRE, the bui squad of Palu, and the PDLs of San Mateo Municipal Jail, PDLs have the capacity to become

responders to emergencies and not mere receivers of service. However, there is a need for focused studies on the participation of PDLs in DRRM-related activities. Taking off from the study of Gaillard et al. (2016) on policies and practices as regards disaster risk reduction,  this study zeroes in on determining PDL participation in DRRM-related activities in selected Philippine jails. It identifies how PDLs participate in DRRM as well as the extent and significance of their participation. It also explores the recurring factors that affect the participation of PDLs in DRRM-related activities in jails. This study modifies Arnstein's ladder of participation model to integrate the National DRRM Framework (National Disaster Risk Reduction Managament Council [NDRRMC], 2011) to suit with the situation within jails. Finally, the study recommends possible courses of action for further improvement of DRRM in Philippine jails.

## Framework and Methodology

To determine how PDL participation affects DRRM in jails, case studies were conducted on the male dorms of Manila, Caloocan, and Tacloban City Jails and the San Mateo Municipal Jail. The cases were chosen due to their history and experience of disaster events. These locations are particularly vulnerable to flooding and are hazardously placed near fault lines. Tacloban City Jail suffered from storm surges brought about by Typhoon Yolanda in 2013. The Manila City Jail is also susceptible to fire risks due to informal settlements in its perimeter. On top of the existing natural hazards, PDLs in these jails are also suffering from persisting vulnerabilities such as lack of access to resources, deprivation of social networks, and other internal vulnerabilities.

Since measuring tools necessary to establish a causal relationship between participation and the effectiveness of DRRM are lacking, the  study limits itself to the participation of PDLs and how it affects the four aspects of DRRM (NDRRMC, 2011) in jails, namely (1) prevention and mitigation, (2) preparedness, (3) response, and (4) rehabilitation and recovery.

### Framework

The framework of this study shows the relationship of the extent of participation of PDLs, modeled after Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969), with the disaster risk reduction and management plans and activities as provided in the Philippine National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (NDRRM) Framework, drafted and adopted by the NDRRMC in 2011 in compliance with Republic Act 10121 or the DRRM Act of 2010.

Indicators used in this study are largely based on the NDRRM Framework in consideration with their applicability to the special nature of prisons (see Table 1). For disaster preparedness, indicators include prison/community awareness,

contingency planning, local drills and simulation exercises, and local disaster response plan. Meanwhile, indicators for disaster response are information dissemination relating to disasters and early recovery mechanism.

### Table 1. DRRM Aspects, their Expected Outcomes, and Key Result Areas/Indicators

| DRRM Aspect | Expected Outcome | Key Result Area/Indicator |
|---|---|---|
| **Prevention and Mitigation** | Avoided hazards and mitigated their potential impacts by reducing vulnerabilities and exposure and enhancing capacities of communities. | Increased disaster resilience of infrastructure systems – Existing infrastructures are improved or reinforced for decreased disaster risk.<br><br>Prison/Community-based risk assessment and mapping – The evaluation and identification of potential risk, hazard, or vulnerability present for the appropriate implementation of risk reduction measures. |
| **Preparedness** | Established and strengthened capacities of communities to anticipate, cope, and recover from the negative impacts of emergency occurrences and disasters. | Prison/Community awareness – The PDLs are informed regarding the hazards, risks, vulnerabilities, and threats present in the community.<br><br>Contingency planning at the local level – There is a contingency plan and PDLs are involved in developing the said plans in each jail.<br><br>Local drills and simulation exercises – These are preventive measures to do in case of emergency. |
| **Response** | Provided life preservation and met the basic subsistence needs of affected population. | Information dissemination – PDLs have access to information especially during disaster events.<br><br>Early recovery mechanism – This includes the presence of emergency assistance operations, spontaneous recovery initiatives, and long-term recovery. |
| **Rehabilitation and Recovery** | Restored and improved facilities, livelihood, and living conditions. | Reconstruction – It refers to the restoration of the living conditions prior to the occurence of a disaster in the community.<br><br>Improvement of facilities – Recovery measures that help restore the assets of the community while increasing resilience for future disasters and emergencies. |

Adopted from NDRRM Framework (NDRRMC, 2011, pp. 18-19)

The researchers adopted the ladder of participation and related them to the indicators of disaster preparedness and response to determine how and to what extent do PDLs participate in DRRM related activities as well as to identify the significance of this participation in reducing their vulnerability. Given this, the framework of the study shows the extent of participation of the San Mateo Municipal Jail, Caloocan City Jail, Tacloban City Jail, and Manila City Jail in disaster preparedness, as reflected in the ladder of participation. Disaster response is the independent variable while the dependent variable is how the DRRM activities are affected by their participation. The framework shown in Figure 1 explains how the different levels of participation affect the DRRM-related activities.

## Figure 1. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

| Levels of PDL Participation (Arnstein's Ladder of Participation) | Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plans and Activities |
|---|---|
| **Citizen Power**<br>• Citizen Control<br>• Delegated Power<br>• Partnership<br><br>**Tokenism**<br>• Placation<br>• Consultation<br>• Informing<br><br>**Non-Participation**<br>• Therapy<br>• Manipulation | **Prevention and Mitigation**<br>• Increase Disaster Resiliency<br>• Prison/Community-based Risk Assessment and Mapping<br><br>**Preparedness**<br>• Prison Community Awareness<br>• Contingency Planning at the Local Level<br>• Local Drills and Simulation Exercises<br><br>**Response**<br>• Information Dissemination<br>• Early Recover Mechanism<br><br>**Rehabiliation and Recovery**<br>• Reconstruction<br>• Improvement of Facility |

## Indicators of Participation

Participation, adopted from the definition of Arnstein (1969), is the involvement of PDLs in sharing information, setting goals and policies, and operating programs. There are three categories of participation under this ladder, namely, non-participation, tokenism, and citizen power.

There are two levels under non-participation category: manipulation and therapy. Manipulation is manifested through a rubber stamp type of PDL participation. Therapy, on the other hand, uses conditioning to solve the problem.

The second category, tokenism, has three levels. The lowest level is informing, which involves a one-way communication process. The next level is

consultation, and then followed by placation (highest level), which both involves a two-way communication process. Placation, however, differs from consultation in such a way that the participants—in this case, the PDLs—are allowed to propose DRRM-related activities yet still under the control of an authority, which is the BJMP. The last category under the ladder of participation is citizen power, which also has three levels. Partnership happens when power is redistributed to all the stakeholders, meaning both the BJMP and PDLs have decisionmaking powers. Delegated power, on the other hand, allows PDLs to have dominant decisionmaking powers, and both the BJMP and PDLs can veto programs. In terms of citizen control, which is the highest level of participation, PDLs are fully in charge of the policy and managerial aspects of the program.

## Methodology

This study utilizes a qualitative research design to determine how the participation of PDLs affects disaster response and preparedness. Using this study design, the researchers gathered data on: (1) the existing DRRM plans of the jail, (2) response mechanism of PDLs during disaster events, and (3) the level of their participation in DRRM programs and initiatives inside the jail. The data gathering method includes interviews with the BJMP wardens of Caloocan City Jail, San Mateo Municipal Jail, and Tacloban City Jail, and the chief records officer of Manila City Jail. Two sets of focus group discussions (FGDs) composed of 10-12 PDLs were also conducted in each jail. Additionally, the researchers gathered relevant records from the administrations in each jail, such as the jails' contingency plans, geohazard maps, and jail profiles, to add to the pool of information used in the analysis of data. To aid in the organization of data from interviews and FGDs, NVivo 11 software was used. Lastly, qualitative analysis was used to determine (1) the participation of PDLs in DRRM, (2) the level of their participation, and (3) the importance of PDL participation in the implementation of DRRM policies in jails.

## Findings

### Informal System Inside the Jail

A common observation in all four jail facilities is the presence of an informal social system. This informal social system is hierarchical with dominant PDLs acting as prison officers by assuming authority and taking on responsibilities in the day-to-day management of the cells or dormitories. This informal system was born out of the need for survival inside the jail. Given the lack of personnel, the jail administrators are tapping PDLs who assumed leadership positions to maintain the order in the cells, and ensure and monitor the needs and well-being of the PDLs. It is through this system that the jail administrators are able to communicate jail policies as well as to know the needs of the PDLs. Except from

some minor differences in the terms, designations, roles, and responsibilities of the PDL officers in the four jail facilities are almost similar. Table 2 provides a summary and comparison of the existing PDL social systems in all four case studies.

In Manila City Jail, they have what they call advisers, who are like counselors. These are PDLs who have previously done time at the New Bilibid Prison. They are believed to have the wisdom that could only come from having spent years in the national penitentiary. Each cell in the Manila City Jail also has an officer called chief rosary who acts as the cell's spiritual leader. Unlike the *kulturero*/secretary in Manila City Jail who is mainly in charge of keeping records, the kulturero/secretary-treasurer in San Mateo Municipal Jail is the one responsible in reminding and informing the PDLs of the evacuation plan whenever a disaster is anticipated. There is also a treasurer in Tacloban City Jail whose main responsibility is to collect and safekeep pooled funds, which they can use for medicine and other emergency expenses.

### Table 2. Informal System Inside the Four Jails

| Roles | Designation in Respective Jails | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Manila City Jail** | **Caloocan City Jail** | **San Mateo Municipal Jail** | **Tacloban City Jail** |
| **Representative of Dormitories** | - | *Pangkalahatang mayor* / **chief coordinator** — the representative of the dorm during the weekly Monday meetings with BJMP officers. He is expected to take charge in implementing order among PDLs in the dormitory under his jurisdiction.<br><br>**Vice mayor/ assistant coordinator** — serves as assistant to the pangkalahatang mayor. | - | **Chief expediter** — each of the two dorms has a chief expediter who serves as the overall head of the dorm and maintains a direct line to the jail warden through meetings. |

| Representative of Cells | *Mayores* — serves as the chairman and overall head of the cell who maintains a direct line to the jail warden through meetings.  Some of the responsibilities of the mayores are to disseminate information to fellow PDL; communicate the requests of the PDLs to the BJMP officers; gather information sourced from lower rank PDL officers or from actual interaction and word-of-mouth; plan for development; coordinate the gathering of resources and support (financial, moral etc.); and make decisions for the general welfare of the whole cell to the extent of the degree of authority allowed by the PDL officers.<br><br>*Mayor/bise mayores* - serves as alter ego of the mayores. He assists in the overall management of the affairs of their cell. | *Mayor/coordinator* — acts as the overall head of the cell. He attends to the needs of his cellmates. | **Chief coordinator/ mayor** — the overall head of the cell. Some of the responsibilities of the chief coordinator/ mayor are to disseminate information to fellow PDLs and send requests of the PDLs to the BJMP officers.<br><br>**Assistant coordinator/ vice mayor** | **Expediter** — serves as cell representative. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Maintains Peace and Order** | *Bastonero* — equivalent to sergeant-at-arms inside the cell, in charge of maintaining peace and order. | *Bantay-bayan* — equivalent to sergeant-at-arms inside the cell, in charge of maintaining peace and order as well as monitoring the daily headcount of PDLs in each cell. | *Bastonero* | **Trustees** — equivalent to sergeant-at-arms inside the cell, in charge of maintaining peace and order. |
| **Handles Concerns on Health & Cleanliness** | **Chief of medicine** – in charge of the first aid kit.<br><br>Bantay kalusugan –each cell has a PDL who is trained in first-aid. They address the health needs and concerns of their fellow PDL. | **PDL trustees** — tasked to identify PDL suffering from illnesses and to accompany them to the clinic. They also monitor the intake of medicine of their fellow PDLs. | **Coordinator** | **Health worker (HW)** |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Mediates Dispute** | **Jury** — each cell has a PDL in charge of running an unofficial justice system to mediate in disputes between PDLs.<br><br>**Paralegal** — PDLs who serve as paralegal during mediations. These PDLs are often degree holders or at the very least have taken undergraduate law-related units. | | | **Paralegal** |
| **PDL Monitoring** | *Kulturero* - serves as liaison inside the cell who keeps track of fellow detainees' records, ensures they are prepared for court hearings, and is in charge of the daily head count | *Pangkalahatang kalihim* – tasked to consolidate detainees' records in each dormitory. All queries and important matters pass through him before the mayor pangkalahatan.<br><br>*Kalihim* – three to four PDLs are designated as kalihim of the brigada/ pangkalahatan, who are assigned to attend to keep the records of their fellow PDL from different cells which they submit to the general secretary for consolidation. They also attend to the immediate concerns of their fellow PDLs. They report all PDL concerns to the general secretary, who then reports to the mayor pangkalahatan. | **Gater** – checks the headcount, maintains a list of PDLs per cell, and makes sure that all the PDLs are accounted for. | |

| Housekeeping and Sanitation | Metro aids – PDLs who are tasked with ensuring cleanliness in the cells. | *Kabo* — These PDLs are chiefly tasked with ensuring the cleanliness of brigada. | Coordinator — tasked to oversee different departments, such as laundry, kitchen, housekeeping, health, and disaster. There are also coordinators for special services, religious services, visitation services, livelihood, and alternative learning system. | Coordinator — tasked to oversee different departments, such as laundry, kitchen, housekeeping, and health. |
|---|---|---|---|---|

## Manila City Jail

The Manila City Jail, like many other jails in the country, suffers from congestion due to an occupancy rate that exceeds the intended capacity of the jail. The two-hectare facility in Sta. Cruz (Arcangel, 2016) district houses 5,798 PDLs (as of 1 January 2018; Tupas, 2018), exceeding its original capacity of 1,127 PDLs (Bureau of Corrections, n.d.) with only 12 personnel overseeing the jail population per shift.

Through the years, the PDLs of Manila City Jail are experiencing the effects of the infrastructural damage of the jail, resulting in flooding, roof leaks, and cramped spaces. In addition to this, the facility recently encountered frequent fire incidents that started from informal settlements that surround the jail facilities.

Although Philippine jails formally adhere to a management model of non-utilization of PDLs in administrative tasks, the jail administrator interviewed for the study admitted that scarce financial and manpower resources make the policy of non-utilization of PDLs in administrative tasks not feasible. Although not completely permitted policy-wise, the Manila City Jail spokesperson stated that they have enlisted PDLs' participation as a coping mechanism where a local informal system is entrusted with a limited amount of authority. In times of actual disasters, the participation and cooperation of PDLs are crucial for the success of the implementation of operation plans (OPLANs).

The jail administrator highlights the effectiveness of the Good Conduct Time Allowance (GCTA), a mechanism that reduces time to be served by PDLs

based on good behavior as provided by RA 10592 (CNN Philippines Staff, 2019), as inducement for PDL cooperation. The administrator also believes that the PDLs should be recognized as a partner, especially during disasters, in the policy level. Lastly, he recommends engaging PDLs as co-owners of the plans in facility development and PDL welfare.

*Prevention and Mitigation*

**Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure.** The extent of PDL participation for this indicator is limited to placation. Due to their experience of frequent flooding that reached knee-deep, the PDLs came up with a suggested solution of soil consolidation as a means to elevate the ground level. The PDLs, through their mayores raised this suggestion to the BJMP officers during their regular meeting for approval, and has proven to be an effective measure against flooding. This initiative was funded by the PDLs themselves through the fund collection mechanism they have devised where the PDLs contribute according to their capacity. After experiencing fire incidents, the PDLs also developed a fire protection initiative of collecting water in barrels.

**Prison/Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping.** Therapeutic community meetings or *simbol* serve as avenues for PDL leaders to know the sentiments of their constituents, which they raise during their weekly dialogue with the BJMP officers. The PDLs are consulted by the BJMP officers in determining the prison conditions that might pose risks and threats, and/ or aggravate existing vulnerabilities. The existence of these regular meetings is a manifestation of consultation as an extent of PDL participation in prison/ community-based risk assessment.

*Preparedness*

**Prison/Community Awareness.** The extent of PDL participation for this indicator is limited to consultation. The mayores, who hold special power as the highest leader of their respective community, are the only ones entitled to have direct communication and discussion with key BJMP officers during monthly engagement meetings. During these meetings, updates on the upcoming activities (e.g., Fire Prevention Month Celebration, schedule of drills, etc.) are announced by the BJMP officers, while concerns within the jail such as the worsening condition of overcrowding and/or necessary improvements of the facilities  are raised by the mayores. Every morning, the PDLs conduct simbol meetings where the PDL leaders relay the announcements given by the BJMP officers, and hear the concerns of their constituents that they will raise on their next meeting with the officers.

**Contingency Planning at the Local Level.** To effectively operate in the event of disasters, OPLANs, which serve as the jail's preparedness and contingency

plan, outlines the plan of action and tasking matrix of jail officers. The utilization of PDLs to assist personnel in evacuation or movement of PDLs is not recognized nor prescribed by the policies of the BJMP. Thus, the actual practice is inconsistent with the policy.

The level of PDL participation in the formulation of the OPLANs is limited to informing. Although PDLs are delegated with some degree of authority, PDLs are only afforded information that are deemed vital to them. The location of evacuation areas as well as the steps and procedures for immediate response during disasters are disclosed to the PDLs, but other confidential information (e.g., location of the command center) are not disclosed for security reasons. It is also evident in the FGDs that the PDLs in general have limited knowledge regarding the contingency plan. In fact, most of the PDLs are not fully aware of the existence of the said document.

**Local Drills and Simulation Exercises.** The frequency of conducting drills inside the jail depends on the priority of the jail warden, the availability of local agencies such as the Bureau of Fire Protection (BFP), and the number of selected PDLs allowed to participate in these activities. In their experience, only dorm representatives participate in the fire drills, while PDLs from selected dorms participate in the earthquake drill. According to the first batch of PDLs who participated in the FGD, none of them have participated in any drill, even if some of them have been in the facility for three years already. In fact, they have not heard of such activity.

The extent of PDL participation in the implementation of drills and simulation exercises is consultation. Suggestions or feedback of PDLs, are taken into account after the drills and simulation exercises. This is their channel to voice out recommendations to the BJMP officers. However, there is no guarantee that their suggestions and feedbacks will be actually integrated in the plans and be implemented.

*Response*

**Information Dissemination.** The role of PDLs in information dissemination is invaluable in establishing an effective communication network inside the jail. In their experience in the most recent fire incident, the PDLs used their alternative alarming instrument called the *batingting* (a makeshift metal bell) to make other PDLs and BJMP officers aware of the fire affecting the two dorms. The mayores was the first person to order the evacuation as he was at the scene when it happened. The said decision was made even before the evacuation order from the BJMP officers.

The extent of PDL participation in information dissemination is placation. According to PDLs, their knowledge from fire drills is sometimes not actually

followed in times of disaster. It is important to note that the final decision still lies with the BJMP officers. However, they allow the PDLs to have some degree of authority in cognizance of the PDLs' capabilities in disaster response.

**Early Recovery Mechanism.** The informal structures inside the PDL communities also assign them roles to play during disaster response. PDLs are either assigned to do the headcount, secure order, and/or serve as health officers. Mayores, on the other hand, can also make decisions such as ordering the evacuation of other PDLs as an immediate response. However, the final decision of whether or not to let them proceed with the evacuation still lies on the officers on duty. In this case, they decided to let the PDLs follow the decision of the mayores to evacuate for they deemed it to be a prudent decision during that situation. Therefore, placation is the extent of PDL participation in the early recovery mechanism.

*Rehabilitation  and Recovery*

**Reconstruction.** The extent of PDL participation in rehabilitation and recovery is placation. The PDLs participated in post-disaster activities, like restoration, repair, cleaning, and salvaging of usable equipment and facilities, and raised emergency funds while waiting for the allocation from the LGU.

**Improvement of  Facilities.** The extent of PDL participation in the improvement of facilities is placation. The PDLs helped in identifying structural damages that needed to be repaired. They checked the electrical system and identified poor installation. The PDLs raised their concerns to the officers to address the problems. They improved the walls of the kitchen area and built concrete walls where they moved their portable camping stove, along with other flammable materials. Additionally, the PDLs built an elevated area made from wooden planks that serves as an evacuation area everytime there is flooding in the jail. It is commonly used as an extended area to accommodate more PDLs in each dorm. These initiatives were developed by the PDLs for improved fire safety considering the susceptibility of the jail. The PDLs proposed these initiatives to the BJMP officers and the latter approved these projects as they deemed it useful for the well-being of the PDLs.

**Caloocan City Jail**

The Caloocan City Jail, constructed in the early 90s, has 12 cells which can each hold nine PDLs. (Melican, 2013). However, as of 31 January 2019, the actual PDL population inside the facility is 2,737, way over  the ideal capacity of 167 PDLs. This means that the facility has a congestion rate of 1,537%. The jail currently has 29 custodial jail officers and 17 escort jail officers overseeing the 11 PDL cells. Flooding is also common in the area, but recent road and drainage pump repairs considerably reduced the risk of flooding.

To respond to the recurring needs and existing risks, both the jail administrator and PDLs manifest the PDLs' participation to minimize the risks inside the jail facility. The warden considers security, above all, as the primary factor in decisionmaking.

*Prevention and Mitigation*

**Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure.** The extent of PDL participation in increased disaster resilience is limited to consultation. An example of this was the recent effort to minimize flooding through the use of a water pump, which was an initiative of the jail administration. This was the result of the regular meetings between the jail administrator and the cell mayors wherein the PDLs voice out their pressing issues, concerns, and suggestions.

**Prison/Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping.** Aside from jail mapping, the Caloocan City Jail employs a geohazard map that contains the physical layout and terrain of the jail that are vital in identifying vulnerable areas. The geohazard map is important in the creation of the contingency plan for the jail. While the jail prioritizes security above all, the administration acknowledges the inputs from the PDLs while still reserving the right to final decisionmaking. Given that the PDLs are allowed to voice out their suggestions and concerns through their cell leaders during the weekly meetings, the level of participation for this aspect is consultation.

*Preparedness*

**Prison/Community Awareness.** The jail administration acknowledges the informal hierarchy formed inside the jail as well as the extent to which they utilize this hierarchy. The warden recognizes that the PDLs are deputized due to the jail's lack of resources, particularly in manpower. Like most jails, PDLs in Caloocan City Jail are allowed representation for meetings and table discussions with the administration. In their case, the jail leadership conducts meetings with cell mayors every Monday, Saturday, and Sunday. Internally, the PDLs organize their own meetings every Sunday. While representation is available, the participation of PDLs is limited to informing. All information and decisionmaking authority lie with the jail administration and are merely cascaded for information to the PDLs during table discussions and meetings between the administration and the mayors and pangkalahatang mayor.

**Contingency Planning at the Local Level.** While training jail officers and the conduct of table discussions are highly regarded, the jail warden also acknowledged the role of PDLs as augmentation to the limited number of jail staff given the jail population. However, the jail warden repeatedly emphasized that the jail administration and personnel must be the ones who are informed and who will plan and operationalize the OPLANs for evacuation and disaster

response. Internally, the jail prioritizes incident command system training for jail officers. With regard to the creation of OPLANs or the contingency plans of Caloocan City Jail for various calamities and events, the participation of PDLs is not considered for security purposes. Thus, the extent of participation of PDLs in this aspect is limited to informing.

**Local Drills and Simulation Exercises**. For simulation exercises, the extent of PDL participation is limited to consultation. PDLs are allowed to give their feedback and suggestions on the said activity when they conduct assessment, but there is no guarantee that their ideas would be operationalized. Due to congestion and lack of personnel, the conduct of simulation exercises or dry runs are conducted with a smaller group of PDLs randomly chosen to participate. These simulation exercises are conducted with focus on testing how knowledgeable and capable the jail officers are rather than educating the PDLs. Additionally, aside from disseminating information and communicating with other PDLs, PDL representatives are not given any specific functions during drills. To gauge the effectiveness of the OPLANs, the jail administration takes into account inputs and feedback provided by the PDLs during the dry run activities and applies adjustments to the plans accordingly.

*Response*

**Information Dissemination.** Due to the lack of personnel and pre-existing conditions such as overpopulation and jail congestion, the jail administration employs cell leaders or the mayors in the dissemination of information and communication. However, the PDLs are not given roles beyond that of communicating with other PDLs, maintaining order, and encouraging cooperation within the facility. In the same way, any concerns, suggestions, issues, and feedback from the PDLs are taken into account and deliberated upon. The two-way flow of communication reflects that the level of participation of PDLs in this aspect is consultation.

**Early Recovery Mechanism.** In the early recovery mechanism, the PDLs are mere receivers of information from the jail administration and they are only allowed to perform what the personnel instructs them. This was manifested during the response to the flooding event in 2014 where the PDLs had to wait for the directive of the jail personnel before initiating any action. The PDLs recounted the flooding event where the water level rose to the second *tarima* (bunk beds) and they had to wait for confirmation and instructions before moving to a higher ground. In this area of disaster response, the level of participation is limited to informing.

*Rehabilitation and Recovery*

**Reconstruction.** After flooding events, PDLs need to seek the permission of the jail authorities to conduct measures for rehabilitation and recovery within the

jail. Once the request for such action is approved, coordinators from the PDLs take on specific tasks such as cleaning and reconstruction. While the PDLs may initiate efforts for rehabilitation and recovery, the jail administration still has the final decision on the efforts to be undertaken, which reflects consultation participation level.

**Improvement of Facilities.** Likewise, the level of participation of PDLs in the aspect of improvement of facilities is limited to consultation. As long as measures taken are not deemed to be a threat to the level of security imposed inside the facility, the PDLs may initiate a renovation like increasing the elevation of tarima. Additionally, the PDLs, as the primary users of the facilities of the jail, helped in identifying areas or facilities that need to be repaired. These issues are then coursed to the jail warden through the regular meetings and are acted upon accordingly.

### San Mateo Municipal Jail

Compared to other jails that have developed increased exposure to risks due to the gradual degradation through time, the San Mateo Municipal Jail was built on limited available land with insufficient attention given to disaster vulnerability. It was built on a flood-prone unelevated area below the main road.

As of February 2019, the jail report indicates a population of 557 PDLs in the male dormitories and 120 in the female dormitories. With a total cell area of 115 square meters for the four dormitories and ideal capacity of 34 PDLs, the congestion rate of San Mateo Municipal Jail is at 2221%. The jail has 39 effective personnel to oversee and address the needs of the entire jail population. Recent attempts to increase the space were made through vertical expansion of the buildings at the cost of increased vulnerability to earthquakes.

Aside from having contingency plans or OPLANs, the participation of PDLs is highly encouraged in preparation and response to disasters. Due to the lack of personnel, the use of an informal management system is evident inside the jail. In comparison to the other jails included in this study, the San Mateo Municipal Jail has high regard and appreciation for the PDLs' participation and contributions regardless of the existence or absence of a disaster event. The warden highly utilizes the PDLs as a "force multiplier" in the jail. Given this openness of the jail administration and the willingness of the PDLs to participate, good communication between the two parties is in place. This openness also enabled the PDLs to realize their capacities while the jail officers utilized their participation for better DRRM practices. Consequently, the PDLs also benefit from this cooperation through the GCTA mechanism that may possibly help shorten their prison sentences.

*Prevention and Mitigation*

**Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure.** The San Mateo Municipal Jail was originally designed as a single-story building. To mitigate frequent flooding due to the facility's proximity to the Marikina River, another floor was added, which was funded by the LGU. The PDLs helped in the construction under the supervision of jail administrators. Hence, the level of participation of the PDLs for this indicator is limited to informing.

**Prison/Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping.** In terms of risk assessment and mapping, the jail administration expresses the vital role of PDLs in identifying risks within the prison cell. The warden conducts weekly meetings with the PDL leaders where the PDLs' concerns and/or suggestions are raised. The level of participation for this indicator is consultation since the administration solicits information from the PDLs. The information gathered is then used in creating the operation plans for the jail.

*Preparedness*

**Prison/Community Awareness.** The level of participation of PDLs in this indicator is consultation. During the weekly dialogues with the warden, the PDL coordinators are informed regarding the policies and protocols inside the jail. The PDL coordinators would then relay the information to their cell mates through their regular meetings. The coordinators are also in charge of orienting new PDLs. It is also during these regular meetings where the PDLs are given the opportunity to communicate with the BJMP officers regarding the conditions inside the prison cell that pose hazards and worsen vulnerability.

**Contingency Planning at the Local Level.** OPLANs serve as the jail's preparedness and contingency plan. Like the other jails, contingency plans are formulated by the administration. San Mateo Municipal Jail has different OPLANs for different disasters (e.g., OPLAN Baha [flood], OPLAN Sunog [fire], OPLAN Lindol [earthquake], etc.). The level of participation of the PDLs in contingency planning is consultation. According to the warden, the PDLs provided inputs, which are necessary in the crafting of the plans. The dorm coordinators represent their constituents during the weekly dialogue with the warden. During these meetings, the warden urges the PDLs to report the conditions inside their dorms and identify concerns related to the formulation of the contingency plan.

**Local Drills and Simulation Exercises.** The jail administration conducts training on disaster response. Considering the jail's location, flood-related drills are more frequent. Different agencies, such as the LGU, the BFP, and Red Cross, are invited to provide fire drills and first aid training for the PDLs. Another initiative of the warden is the OPLAN Olympic where the actions of the jail officers and the PDLs are being assessed by the warden. Likewise, PDL

representatives are encouraged to give their thoughts, feedback, and suggestions with regard to the implementation of drills and exercises during the meetings with the BJMP officers. The existence of these meetings is a manifestation of consultation as the level of PDL participation for this indicator.

*Response*

**Information Dissemination.** The PDL coordinators play a crucial role in maintaining an effective communication network inside the jail. When Typhoon Ompong struck in 2018, the PDLs had to evacuate to a nearby elementary school. The chief cell coordinators called *mayor* acted as leaders of their respective cells and reminded their cellmates what to bring in the evacuation area. They instructed their constituents on what to do in accordance with the rules given to them by the BJMP officers. Meanwhile, the secretary-treasurer helped the *bastonero* (sergeant-at-arms inside the cell) in informing and reminding the PDLs to behave and maintain peace and order during the evacuation period. The *gater* has the list of the names of the PDLs, and is in charge of checking the headcount to ensure that the PDLs are all accounted for.

Based on these actions, the extent of PDL participation in information dissemination in responding to disasters is limited to informing. The PDLs relied on the BJMP officers' instructions, which the PDLs followed diligently out of willingness and trust on the latter that everything they are asked to do is only for their safety.

**Early Recovery Mechanism.** During the onslaught of Typhoon Ompong, the flooding submerged the first floor and led to the prompt evacuation of PDLs. The warden emphasized the effectiveness of activating the incident command system (ICS) in responding to disasters. During FGDs, the PDLs demonstrated familiarity with the protocols during disasters. For this indicator, the participation of the PDLs falls under consultation. The evacuation process went smoothly through the cooperation and coordination between the PDLs and the jail administrators.

*Rehabilitation and Recovery*

**Reconstruction.** After the evacuation order had been lifted, instructions were given by the jail administrators for the PDL jail aids to take the lead in cleaning debris and retrieving flooded items. Considering the importance of firsthand information from the PDLs regarding the conditions inside the cells, BJMP officers arrange informal meetings as an avenue for the PDLs to air their concerns and/or suggestions. It is also an opportunity for the PDLs to report the identified damages. As manifested in the abovementioned statements, the level of participation of PDLs in reconstruction is consultation. The warden highly encourages the participation of the PDLs in post-disaster activities as it is deemed vital in augmenting the lack of personnel and resources.

**Improvement of Facilities.** In terms of improvement of facilities, the PDLs' suggestions are solicited by the BJMP officers. Thus, the participation of PDLs for this indicator is consultation. During the interview with the warden, it was mentioned that the PDLs are expressing their worries about the safety of the facility. According to him, he has already raised the request to the local government for an immediate relocation of the detention facility to a higher ground.

**Tacloban City Jail**

The Tacloban City Jail is plagued by recurring issues such as health concerns, congestion, and lack of jail personnel. With an intended capacity of 200 PDLs, the Tacloban City Jail houses 1,024 PDLs as of February 2019. The 25-cell facility is watched over by 20 jail personnel.

The Tacloban City Jail was chosen as a subject of the study as its experience during the onslaught of Typhoon Yolanda provides information and insights on the disaster preparedness and emergency protocols of the facility. Located on a higher ground, the jail facility is not susceptible to flooding. In fact, the PDLs and jail personnel expressed low perceived risk during typhoons despite being near the coastline.

When Typhoon Yolanda struck in 2013, around 600 PDLs from the Leyte Provincial Jail and Tacloban City Jail left the facilities to check on their family members and aid the recovery efforts. As of January 2014, less than 150 of them have yet to return to the prison facilities (Aragon, 2013).

Regardless of the presence of a disaster event, the Tacloban City Jail administration highly recognizes the significant role of PDL participation in various jail activities. Similar to the other jails, the administration also recognizes the importance of informal governance in jail, which is considered as one of the most essential mechanisms in their day-to-day jail activities and operations. The PDLs employ an informal hierarchy that is tagged differently than other jails in the Philippines but the same tasks are performed by those playing equivalent roles. The expediters (equivalent to a mayores) are headed by the commander or chief expediter and they serve as the main bridge of communication between the PDLs and the BJMP personnel. Following them are the coordinators who perform specific tasks such as leading the housekeeping department and maintaining the peace and order within the cell. A trustee is similar to the bastonero who plays an important role in maintaining crowd behavior in each cell. Each cell also has its own appointed health worker, treasurer, and paralegal.

*Prevention and Mitigation*

**Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure.** The level of participation of PDLs in the aspect of increasing disaster resilience of facilities and infrastructure is consultation. This is apparent during the regular meetings with PDLs every Monday, which is commonly referred to as the therapeutic community (TC) where the discussions between the BJMP personnel and the PDLs take place. Through the TC, the PDLs may express the resource and facility requirements and needs that can no longer be accommodated within the cell.

**Prison/Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping.** Through the TC, the PDLs and jail administration convene to discuss the OPLANs. The administration believes that the PDLs have firsthand information on the hazards and risks in jail facilities. Thus, they can provide valuable information that is to be considered in creating the OPLANs and planning the simulation exercises. The level of participation of PDLs in this aspect is consultation since the presence of TC and expediter meetings indicates the presence of an avenue where PDLs provide information that is solicited by the jail administration.

*Preparedness*

**Prison/Community Awareness.** During the TC, the jail administration relays important information and announcements that are relevant to the PDLs. Aside from this, regular meetings between the jail administration and the expediters are conducted to disseminate policies and protocols inside the jail and other announcements such as training, drills, and other activities that concern the general jail population. These venues also allow the PDLs to voice out their concerns and issues such as the lack of basic resources, broken facilities, health concerns, and other needs that warrant the attention of the jail administration. If the information is of a delicate matter, the expediter is first called in by the warden for discussion. After which, the information is disseminated by the expediters per cell and are communicated within the cell groups. This indicates that the level of participation of PDLs in this aspect is consultation.

**Contingency Planning at the Local Level.** With regard to the formulation of OPLANs, PDLs are not given the chance to engage in the formulation process and they are bound to just receive instructions from the BJMP officers. Although they are firsthand actors who know best when it comes to the context they are situated in, there is only a one-way flow of information and they are not able to express criticisms regarding the OPLANs. Thus, the PDL participation in disaster-related activities particularly in the formulation of OPLANs is limited to informing.

**Local Drills and Simulation Exercises.** Due to the constant change in the jail population and the state of jail facilities, OPLANs are constantly updated

to better suit the safety and security needs of the jail. To test the efficacy and efficiency of these changes, the jail administration conducts simulation exercises (SIMEX) with the PDLs as the main actors and participants. For each OPLANs formulated inside the jail, the PDLs perform the drills or simulation exercise to test the knowledge or know-how of both the PDLs and the BJMP personnel. Prior to the conduct of the SIMEX, the PDLs are given training, such as rescue operation, basic life support, and first aid, which were taught by resource speakers from the local government. Subsequent to the execution of the SIMEX, the PDLs may offer their observations, suggestions, and critique to the OPLANs and the SIMEX. The administration, in turn, considers these as output of the SIMEX and as input in updating the OPLANs. Given this, the participation of the PDLs in the area of local drills and simulation exercises is consultation.

*Response*

**Information Dissemination.** Communicating with the PDLs may be a long and arduous task especially in times of disaster. During evacuations, the coordinators, who are tasked to maintain the peace and order in the cell, also perform the role of starting the headcount. Once the entire cell population is accounted for, the PDLs wait for the security confirmation before proceeding with the evacuation plan. This, however, is different to what transpired during the devastation of Typhoon Yolanda. In the immediacy of the disaster event, the PDLs exhibited individualistic reactions when they evacuated to higher grounds on their own. The BJMP officers just let them evacuate on their own. Thus, the PDL participation for this indicator is placation.

**Early Recovery Mechanism.** In this aspect, the level of PDL participation in disaster response falls under placation. After the devastation of Typhoon Yolanda, the actions undertaken by the PDLs were done out of their own will and not because it was part of the existing contingency plan. The jail officers could have decided to either let the PDLs leave the facility or enforce coercion among PDLs to comply with their instructions. Those who chose to stay within the jail facility provided assistance to their relatives who sought refuge inside the jail. The PDLs provided clean clothes, food, water, and other aid to their relatives. Those who later on returned to the jail facility were awarded additional time allowance through the Special Time Allowance for Loyalty (STAL). Compared to other jails, the Tacloban City Jail PDLs are more familiar with the STAL.

*Rehabilitation and Recovery*

**Reconstruction.** The level of participation of PDLs in reconstruction is placation. With the supervision of the BJMP personnel, the PDLs started cleaning debris brought in by the strong winds and recovered materials that may still be reused. In addition to this, the PDLs also made use of the pooled funds collected by the treasurer. This practice has been going on for years. In case the

funds are lacking, and an emergency presents itself, the PDL leaders such as the expediters augment the fund shortage using their personal funds.

**Improvement of Facilities.** With regard to the improvement of facilities in Tacloban City Jail, the administration solicits inputs on what to improve and reinforce inside the jail facility. However, the current state of the overcrowded jail pushed for the proposal to move the facility in a more spacious area. This proposal is still underway and is for approval by national government agencies. In the meantime, the PDLs, through the TC and expediters' meeting with the jail administration, offered suggestions for facility improvement inside the jail. These proposals, however, are to be considered by the administration and are to be decided upon before implementing them. Given this, the PDL participation in this aspect is consultation.

## Analysis and Discussion

After identifying the status of PDL participation in all of the major stages of DRRM, a side-by-side comparison of the situations in each jail shows us certain patterns by which PDL participation happens, and how it takes place (see Table 3). Another glaring point of similarity is how informal structures play a very important role in PDL participation. As shown in Table 2 in the previous section, an informal system of governance is observed in all four jails. The informal system allowed the PDLs to have representatives—such as mayores of Manila City Jail, cell leaders of Caloocan City Jail, jail aids of San Mateo Municipal Jail, and expediters of Tacloban City Jail—to have easier communication between BJMP officials and the PDLs. Another exceptional thing about this informal system is the delegation of tasks to the PDL leaders inside their cells, which aids the BJMP officials in simple tasks like the maintenance of peace and order inside the cell, monitoring the health and well-being of PDLs, and delivery of services and day-to-day jail operations.

All of the jails efficiently utilize the PDLs through their participation in the different activities supervised and administered by BJMP officials. In line with this, different institutions and government agencies, such as the BFP for fire drills, Red Cross for first aid trainings, PNP for security, and the local government itself, are also partnered with BJMP to further enrich the activities.

In prevention and mitigation, the levels of PDL participation are mostly at the level of *consultation*, usually accomplished through dialogues with informal representatives of the PDLs. This shows a certain respect for the firsthand knowledge of the PDLs who experience the impact of disasters themselves. However, there is no guarantee that their sentiments are actually translated into policy by the jail administration. At the level of preparedness, PDL participation is mostly at *consultation* and *informing*. Preparedness exercises like drills,

trainings, etc., are organized by the jail administration in partnership with the LGU and other agencies and organizations, and brought down to PDL level for execution, with limited inclusivity for the PDLs. While PDL feedback towards these exercises are sometimes welcomed, like prevention and mitigation, there is no guarantee that they have actual effect on future iterations of the exercises. PDL participation becomes *placation* and *informing*, however, at the level of response. While the jail administration has the formal right to make decisions during this time, snap judgment decisions by informal PDL leaders, especially during information dissemination at the time of the disaster itself, are what take precedence for the PDLs. In contrast, early recovery mechanisms are usually handed down from the jail administration. During rehabilitation and recovery, it is common to see initial efforts for recovery and restoration of facilities managed and funded by the PDLs due to bureaucratic hurdles to resources. Feedback as to what is needed for full recovery is also welcomed from them. At this level, PDL participation is at *placation* and *consultation*.

### Table 3. Level of PDL Participation in Disaster-Related Activities of the Four Jails

| Indicator | | Manila | Caloocan | San Mateo | Tacloban |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prevention and Mitigation | Increased Disaster Resilience of Infrastructure | Placation | Consultation | Informing | Consultation |
| | Prison/ Community-Based Risk Assessment and Mapping | Consultation | Consultation | Consultation | Consultation |
| Preparedness | Prison/ Community Awareness | Consultation | Informing | Consultation | Consultation |
| | Contingency Planning at the Local Level | Informing | Informing | Consultation | Informing |
| | Local Drills and Simulation Exercises | Consultation | Consultation | Consultation | Consultation |
| Response | Information Dissemination | Placation | Consultation | Informing | Placation |
| | Early Recovery Mechanism | Placation | Informing | Consultation | Placation |
| Rehabilitation and Recovery | Reconstruction | Placation | Consultation | Consultation | Placation |
| | Improvement of Facilities | Placation | Consultation | Consultation | Consultation |

Two recurring themes are observed in these findings. First, feedback is usually welcome from the PDLs, but there is no guarantee with regard to the integration of inputs in the plans and changes in programs. Second, gaps and scarcity in resources and manpower are filled by PDL initiatives, especially during response and recovery. These observations provide a picture as regards PDL participation and how it works in the four jail facilities studied.

In addition, certain institutional factors were determined to have effect on PDL participation in DRRM. First, the attitudes and perceptions of the warden towards DRRM, particularly on whether the warden considers it a priority or not, have an effect with regard to opportunities for participation of PDLs. However, the jail administration's attitude toward DRRM is related to past disaster experiences of the jail. The frequency of disaster events experienced by a jail facility often means an increased vulnerability to certain hazards and the probability of the recurrence of those disaster events. This makes disaster preparedness an obvious priority for jail administrators in facilities that have high disaster vulnerability. Another factor is the available institutional incentives for cooperation with the jail administration during the disaster event, such as the GCTA and the STAL. However, both the GCTA and STAL reward compliance rather than initiative, which results in passive participation from the PDLs. Finally, informal structures inside PDL circles are very important at all levels of DRRM. While at times informal PDL leaders may even take decisionmaking roles, they mostly act as bridge of information between jail administration and the general populace of the PDLs.

## Conclusion

According to Gaillard et al. (2016), a "disaster is a situation and a process involving a hazardous event, which has consequences in terms of damage, livelihoods disruption, and/or casualties" (p. 3). The potential for a disaster to occur is referred to as disaster risk (Gaillard et al., 2016). Disaster risk has various components, such as natural hazards, vulnerability, and capacity. Based on the findings of this study, however, this framework does not encapsulate the entirety of the variables in existence inside jail facilities. In addition to the three components of disaster risk, the research suggests that PDL participation, as an additional component, plays a vital role in determining disaster risk in the context of Philippine jails (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2. Disaster Risk in Jails**

Disaster Risk in Jails = Natural Hazards x Exposed PDLs x Level of PDL Participation

↙                                    ↘

Vulnerabilities              Capacities
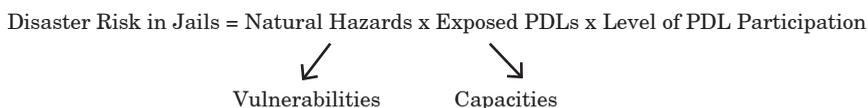
The level of PDL participation, as the last component, is affected by both the willingness of the PDLs to enforce their existing capacities and factors in variables that affect the level of their participation. Capacity, as a component, takes into account the existing internal and external networks of the PDLs that they may utilize or resort to when dealing with a disaster event. This, however, does not take into account other factors such as motivators and demotivators to PDL participation. Attitude or perception of the warden, past disaster experiences, GCTA and STAL, and security issues and concerns are emerging themes that are specific to disaster risk reduction and management in jails.

The extent of participation of PDLs in the four facilities in different activities all fall under *tokenism* category. Based on the findings and analysis, participation of PDLs significantly and notably affects the DRRM-related activities under the four aspects of DRRM. Furthermore, participation of PDLs is invaluable to information dissemination and communication, maintenance of peace and order, and augmentation of the lack of resources in jail facilities. The participation of PDLs is affected by factors such as the attitude or perception of the warden, past disaster experiences, the time allowance incentives, and security issues.

Building on PDL participation as a component of disaster risk in jails, Arnstein's ladder of participation is reformulated to reflect the findings on the level of participation of PDLs in the context of Philippine jails.

**Figure 3. Ladder of PDL Participation in Philippine Jails**



Grassroots Planning

Consultation

Informing

In this framework, the third and fourth levels of participation in Arnstein's ladder—informing and consultation— are adapted to suit the context of Philippine jails. As shown in Figure 3, the lowest level is informing, which involves a one-way communication process. In contrast, there is already a two-way flow of communication at the consultation level through the regular meetings attended by the PDL leaders and BJMP officers. However, the input from the PDLs gathered through this process would be considered upon the deliberation of administrators. In this framework, the third and highest level of

PDL participation in jails is grassroots planning. This is considered the highest level of PDL participation, which recognizes the capacity of PDLs to participate in DRRM activities while maintaining the power structure inside the jails. The PDLs, in this level, are allowed to formulate plans and activities on their own, which they can propose subject to the approval of BJMP officers. The plans can still be declined particularly when the opinions or contents are unfavorable or infeasible from the perspective of the jail administrators. In this sense, the final decision is still in the hands of the BJMP officers who are accountable to the outcomes of their decision. The PDL leaders also have some degree of accountability to their fellow PDLs.

## Recommendations

*For BJMP.* The researchers see the need to institutionalize a DRRM office tailored accordingly in the context of jails. Although different DRRM-related initiatives are already in place, a centralized office that will attend specifically to the DRRM of jails will ensure the consistency and continuation of different programs and projects. An important feature in this division is the strengthening of skills training and development for PDLs as effective force multipliers, whose capacities may be tapped whenever needed.

Along with the institutionalization of a BJMP DRRM Division, the extent of PDL participation in the three mentioned DRRM activities—formulation of OPLANs, simulation of exercises and drills, and response mechanism—should fall under the tokenism category. In the formulation of OPLANs, the researchers recommend that the extent of PDL participation should be at the level of informing while ensuring that their awareness on the existing plans is strengthened. For the simulation of exercises and drills, it is proposed that the level of PDL participation be up to consultation level. In consideration of the response mechanisms, the BJMP should give the PDLs the opportunity to plan and respond accordingly to the situation that may arise while still being subject to the supervision and authority of the jail administrators.

Apart from these, the researchers also recommend that the BJMP implement a program that would raise the awareness for time allowance incentives such as the GCTA and STAL. BJMP can incorporate this program in their alternative learning system curricula or in their regular meetings with the PDLs. Increasing their awareness regarding the GCTA might increase the participation of PDLs not only in the DRRM programs but also in other activities.

*For policymakers.* The study brought to light the dire situation of PDLs that makes them more vulnerable to disaster risks. Based on the findings of the study, the researchers see the urgent need to provide the PDLs a better budget allocation for different DRRM plans and activities and to improve jail facilities

to reduce disaster risks. Policymakers can also facilitate the institutionalization of support mechanisms from relevant government agencies and the voluntary sector to increase the capacities of PDLs to prepare for, respond to, and mitigate disaster risks.

*For further study*. As a subsequent exploratory study and extension of Gaillard et al.'s (2016) study on the state of DRRM in Philippine jails, future research on the field of DRRM or jail management can further look into the impact of PDL participation on the effectiveness of DRRM initiatives and activities in other jail facilities. Further studies can also be done on the nuances of the informal system of PDLs and how it can be better tapped for PDL participation.

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## Declaration of Ethical Practice

The researchers guarantee the use of appropriate and ethical process in all aspects of the research from data gathering, analysis, and presentation. Ethical procedures were followed before, during, and after conducting the interviews and FGDs. The information obtained from the research are kept with confidentiality with due consideration for the respondents' privacy and to avoid harm on their part.

*Reflections from Scholars and Practitioners*

# Reflections on Managing Government Real Property: An Operational Free Good to a Strategic Resource

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*These reflections are from the author's experiences in managing public sector real property from both within the industry and as an adviser to all levels of government, and how this led him to the academic world. These reflections relate to how the mix of practice and academic learning has shaped the author as an individual, as well as how these experiences reflect upon his work in assisting governments to face the practical challenges presented by changes in public expectations and public governance. The author has learned how academia gives independent authority, credence, validity, and explanation to personal professional experiences and observations, and provides exciting and reasoned intellectual bases for them. Questioning what he has seen has exposed him to areas of organizational culture and behavioral and political science. After all, real property is just concrete, bricks and mortar. Or, is it?*

***Keywords*:** *government property, resources, integrated strategic planning, public value, organizational culture, change*

## Introduction

I am a property professional. I have managed real property assets for some 40 years in both the private and public sectors across much of the Asia Pacific region. I was introduced to the public sector some 20 years ago and to the academic world about 10 years later, both by pure chance.

Because I have learned how important the management of government property is to social equity, public governance, and sustainability, it is something that I have become very passionate about. But I have also learned that it can hardly be considered as one of the more absorbing or inspiring aspects of public administration, conjuring up visions of maintenance and operational tasks. So, staring at this blank sheet of paper, I know that my biggest challenge is to make it interesting.

I hope that my fascination with the way things are *connected*, my anecdotal style, and references from seemingly obscure sources, go some way to achieving this, and generating an awareness of the importance of property to the functioning of government, and the public administration capacity and skills required to manage it.

## Setting the Scene

Before indulging in my reflections, I should set the scene for government property.

### Key Characteristics

Most government activity and services are conducted and provided from property. Here are a few of its characteristics:

• The property asset base covers all manner of property types, uses, holdings and tenure;

• Its value typically represents a high proportion of a government's non-financial assets, sometimes as much as 90%;

• It is capital intensive;

• It is expensive to maintain, repair, renew, and replace; and

• Poor property decisions are very costly and difficult to reverse.

The management of property must respect and reflect these characteristics.

### Definitions and Best Practice

To help dispel some of the misconceptions of asset management, I offer a couple of definitions, which I have drawn from the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) ISO 55000 series (ISO, 2014).

*Asset management* is defined as "the coordinated activity of an organization to realize value from assets" (ISO, 2014, p. 14). I suggest the term "value" refers to "public value" in the context of government.

*System of management* is defined as "a set of interrelated or interacting elements to establish asset management policy and objectives, and processes to achieve those objectives" (p. 15). This is an organizational framework and governance structure. I have adapted Figure 1 from the ISO 55000 standard to illustrate the asset management relationships within an organization.

**Figure 1. ISO 55000 Asset Management**
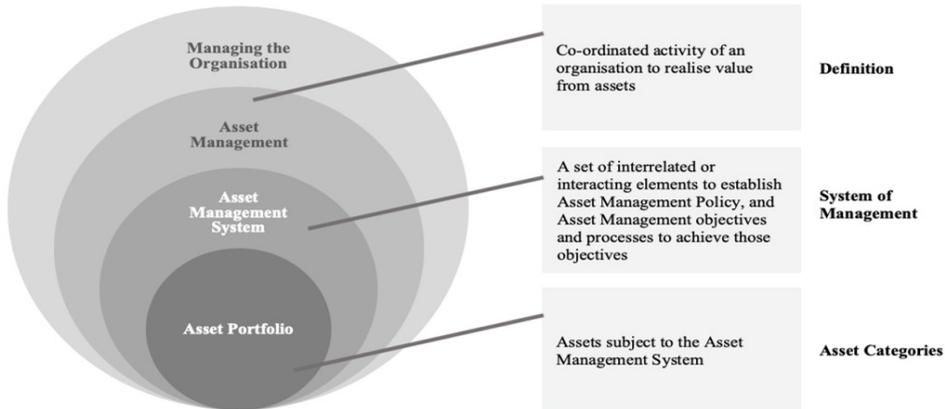


Source: ISO, 2014, p. 4

## International Organization for Standardization: ISO 55000

As I have had experience with ISO, and as ISO 55000 is gaining favor in the public sector, it is worth taking a brief look at the Organization and the ISO 55000 standard. I would like to think that I can connect the origins of ISO 55000 to the professional practice guidelines for the strategic management of government property assets issued by my professional body, the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) (Jones & White, 2008),[1] and to my time at the New South Wales (NSW) Government.

ISO is an independent, international nongovernmental organization. According to its website, ISO "brings together experts to share knowledge and develop voluntary, consensus-based, market relevant International Standards that support innovation and provide solutions to global challenges" (ISO, n.d. "About us").

Having directed the implementation of the ISO 9000 Quality Management series at a large multinational property management business in Asia Pacific and managed it post-certification, I view some ISO certifications with a degree of cynicism. This is not because of the concept of ISO, which genuinely brings the principles of *good* or *leading* practice to organizations, but because there are those who believe that certification bestows some form of finite *best* practice affirmation. This is particularly prevalent in the public sector's adoption of ISO 9000 (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2007).

At the risk of being a little controversial, I say that there is no such thing as *best* practice. In its pursuit, I have seen unnecessary and over-engineered

processes and procedures to the extent that the requirement for their compliance stifles efficiency, and reduces the quality of outcomes. The Hong Kong office of an international property consultancy that I was advising in the early 2000s had become so overwhelmed by its ISO 9000 processes that the ISO organization warned the company that it risked losing its certification if it would not review its system of management and restructure its ISO manuals.

Many organizations fail to appreciate that an ISO certification is not a panacea for business woes. In isolation, ISO 55000 will not make an organization more competitive or improve asset management practices. The standard only specifies the management system to support asset management; it does not specify *best* practices for the discipline of asset management.

**Strategic Public Management**

The management of property is essential to the planning and delivery of public services. It is an integral part of the strategic management of public resources where land, money, people, technology, and existing assets are planned, deployed, and managed in the most effective and efficient combination to provide the right services and facilities, at the right level, place, time, reasonable price—i.e., a form of public value—and to the right people.

One of my oldest "friends" is Sun Tzu, the great 6th century BC Chinese strategist and general, who wrote in *The Art of War*, "strategy is the means by which all actions are coordinated, and all resources allocated" (Sun Tzu, 6 BC/2001, p. 122). Aligned with this is the commonly-quoted adage, often credited to Sun Tzu, that strategy without tactics is the slowest route to victory, and tactics without strategy is the noise before defeat.

I have heard "the noise before defeat" too many times. Unfortunately, tactics are often mistaken for, or used as proxies for strategy. I have seen far too many poor property outcomes and wastage due to decisions being made without the control of the over-arching governance of a connected and integrated strategic planning framework, and without good asset knowledge and information. If the maximum public value is to be extracted from property, it is critical for it to be managed as a strategic resource under such a framework or *system of management*. I illustrate this with a typical strategic planning framework in Figure 2.

By managing property in this way—and integrating it with financial, human and technology resources—investment needs are identified, and the deployment of assets is guided and aligned to help achieve the full range of government policies and objectives—financial, social, economic, and environmental.

**Figure 2: Typical Strategic Planning Framework**
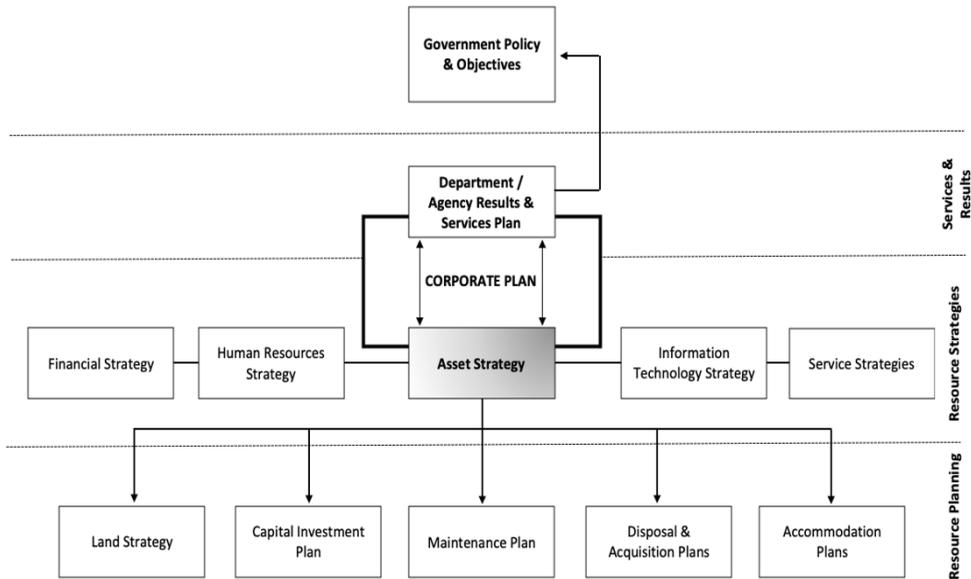


Asset management is more than just the development of asset strategies. It has a vital role in the provision of data and information that can help shape the development of government policy and programs, and how they are implemented. Closely connected with this is a growing focus on the organizational resilience[2] of the public sector. This reinforces the management of property as a government-wide function. I cite the Philippine Government as an example later in this article.

According to Carter (2013), "[it] is therefore crucial that [public administrators] be expert in strategic asset management" (p. 4). Furthermore, "the 21st century public servant… is a municipal entrepreneur, undertaking a wide range of roles," and "in the future you will need to be a municipal entrepreneur, a steward of scarce public resources'" (Needham & Mangan, 2014, p. 6).

The necessary skills to manage property assets through New Public Management (NPM) and into New Public Governance (NPG) now extend to leadership, strategic planning, financial planning and analysis, data and information management, performance measurement and reporting, and relationship management and communications. These are a far cry from those required in the era of traditional Public Administration (TPA) (see Table 1 later in the article).

Despite this, many jurisdictions lack the necessary understanding of, and capacity and capability in asset management.

Plugging these gaps will require high levels of formal cooperation between public administrations, academia, and the professions. This has been the norm in the United Kingdom and USA for many years, but I have rarely seen it elsewhere, including Australia. Including strategic asset management in higher education courses in Public Administration will go a long way in facilitating that process. I have a deep conviction that academia must take a leading and coordinating role in this.

## Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

I have long felt that management of property has much to contribute to environmental sustainability.[3] It is therefore very pleasing to see that the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) is promoting property asset management as a valuable contributor to the achievement of SDGs, with particular concentration on Goals 4 (education & learning), 5 (gender equality), 8 (economic growth and employment), 9 (resilient infrastructure), 10 (equality) and 17 (capacity and capability). According to RICS chief executive officer Sean Tompkins (2018), "given the interlinked nature of the SDGs, each of these themes in turn cover a number of individual work streams that touch upon the much wider list of SDGs" (p. 4).

## Practitioner or Academic?

I describe myself as a *practical*, or perhaps accidental, academic. It is often said that "those who can, do; and those who can't, teach." This suggests that calling and motivation have little to do with life's choices. This is nonsense! I now do both. I have learned that they are not mutually exclusive or conflicting activities, but are entirely interconnected.

I have said that I came to academia by chance. In March 2004, I accepted a three-month appointment from the NSW Government to advise on its strategic property asset management reform program. This turned into four years, with a senior role in the implementation of that reform. This, and my long-time addiction to cryptic crosswords, led to my entrée into the academic world.

I attended a conference with an uninspiring theme of "Property Management in the Public Sector." One of the speakers was a professor at the University of Sydney, whom I noticed shared my crossword addiction. This was the start of a friendship that changed my life. He cajoled, bullied, and conned me into undertaking my doctorate in management of public property. This opened an entire world of public administration organizational characteristics and culture, of which I had so far only a glimpse of.

My academic study quickly revealed how much I did not know. This was frightening, which is why I now have a fixation with knowledge and improvement. In the case of government property, it is about changing the traditional attitude towards property from a sense of perennial occupational entitlement and an operational free good for government agencies, to understanding that it is a strategic government-wide resource.

My time at the NSW Government turned me into a vocal advocate of how I believed public property should be managed. I made a nuisance of myself, and would have upset many people at conferences and speaking engagements. This must have had some effect, because I received an invitation from the RICS in London to act as keynote speaker at the Australian launch of its professional practice guidelines for the strategic management of government property assets (Jones & White, 2008).

These reflections, therefore, are also about public sector change and reform. These are the reasons for and the challenges of reforming the management of government property from a janitorial and maintenance function, to managing it as a strategic government-wide resource.

This transition is a quantum leap, equivalent to progressing from the first space mission to putting a man on the moon. Or, in terms of public governance, moving directly from the TPA model to NPG, completely bypassing NPM. Many governments face this dilemma. "The measure of intelligence is the ability to change," is probably a much over-used quotation of Einstein, but it has great relevance to this context, as does his definition for "insanity."

## Philippine Reflections 1: Bonifacio Global City (BGC)

As my experience includes an association of some 30 years with the Philippines, it is fitting that I include reflections from this.

The highlight of my professional career is from the 1990s when I was involved in the development of BGC. I led a small team of consultants that coordinated the development of the deed of covenants, conditions, and restrictions (CC&R) for BGC, which set out its governance and management arrangements and enabled the commencement of land sales and development. I was also instrumental in the establishment of the BGC's management entity, Bonifacio Estate Services Corporation. I had no conception at that time that it would be a trailblazing public sector strategic asset management project. The experience remains relevant to much of my current work.

There were a number of legal obstacles in preparing the CC&R. There was no basis in Philippine Law for either the BGC's planning regulations or

the administrative, governance, and management arrangements that we were proposing. In terms of the latter, the only reference we had was the principles of the Condominium Law (Republic Act 4726). These problems were resolved with the assistance of two magnificent legal brains.

Imagine BGC without a road or a building, other than some of the old military structures. Standing with a colleague on the second-floor roof of our offices one day, looking across the site with an unobstructed view of Makati, I said half-jokingly, "You know, if this doesn't go right, we'll get all the blame in 20 years!" The point is, we were in awe of the importance and magnitude of our task. And, 20 years later….

The Fort was the first building at BGC. It was originally intended as a temporary structure to provide entertainment amenities for the hundreds of people engaged in its development. I am delighted that it remains. Perhaps it should be heritage-listed!

Although BGC has its own identity and individuality, it provides an indispensable contribution to the business, social, environmental, and cultural life of the larger Metropolitan Manila area. The success of BGC and its importance to the Philippines is a fine example of nation-building through shared public and private sector visions, cooperation, and resilience. I am very proud to have been associated with this.

An anecdote to this is that BGC's planning regulations were adopted as a case study by the School of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Philippines Diliman. By chance many years later, this provided me with the opportunity to connect with the National College of Public Administration and Governance.

## Connections

My fascination with *connections* is not so much in a business networking sense, but it is more on where values, ideas, and inspiration come from, and how they affect human traits and behavior. These aspects connect with and shape the culture of individuals and organizations and, hence, the value of the outcomes from their efforts.

For me, these connections are not only fun to explore but they help to offer further context as to why and how we do things through study and through the experiences, eyes, and wisdom of others, as well as ourselves. The lessons learned from them give guidance to future actions and endeavors.

This also relates to *cause and effect*, which has become an important means of analysis for me, and which returns me to the wisdom of Sun Tzu.

*2019*

"Because all things are interconnected, you must know each one, and how each one affects and effects every other" (Sun Tzu, 6 BC/ 2001, p. 71). This has had a profound influence on my approach to managing government property, and how to introduce, present, and implement that approach to and through all levels of public administration. In this context, it is about connecting and integrating, at a strategic level, the management of property into a government-wide strategic planning and service delivery process. Simply, all aspects of the strategic planning framework (Figure 2) are linked to and interdependent upon each other. Therefore, it is important to understand how any weak links in the chain will *affect and effect* the others and, ultimately, the quality of public value outcomes.

## Moving Through the Public Governance Continuum

According to Dickinson (2016):

> The reality of the transitions in governance arrangements has not kept pace with the rhetoric. They are rarely as clear-cut and straightforward as the academic literature typically presents them to be. (p. 85).

This directly reflects my experience in the Australian public sector. Indeed, I have found some of the literature to be misleading and without sufficient foundation.

### The Influence of Organizational Characteristics and Culture

In the private sector, I managed real property from three broad perspectives: (1) as an investment, where return is measured in financial terms; (2) for owners and occupiers, where return may be measured against social, personal edification, and other non-financial criteria; and (3) on behalf of corporate organizations, for which property is essential to the operation of business and production of goods and services. It is the latter, which in the 1990s became known as *corporate real estate*, that provides (or should provide) the principles for the management of all manner of government property, educational and religious institutions, and nongovernmental and not-for-profit organizations.[4]

By the time I commenced my doctorate in late 2010, I had been working in and with the public sector in Australia for nearly 10 years. These years had hardened my views towards the public services of both federal and state governments. There were high levels of incompetence, lack of professionalism and professional skills, a pervading culture of indolence, mistrust and suspicion, and resistance to anything that represented a departure from the *old ways*. "This is the way we've always done it" and "But, this is the public sector" are excuses that I had heard many times. The public service areas that I was involved in did not seem motivated to the service of the public.

I find it interesting, and perhaps with some sense of self-satisfaction, that I was seeing all these at precisely the same time when they were the subject of a significant OECD project (OECD, 2007), and in the literature of many public administration scholars and commentators.

I later discovered that Australia was not alone. In 2003, the US Government's General Accounting Office (US GAO, 2003) described the management of federal real property as reflecting "the business model and technological environment of the 1950s, which had failed to respond to the size and objectives of government, changes in technology, working environments, services and their delivery models, the post-2001 security environment, and how government interacts and communicates with the public" (US GAO, 2003, as cited in Seymour-Jones, 2017, p. 80).

The US GAO (2003) concluded that deficiencies in the management of federal real property had multimillion-dollar cost implications, and the potential to seriously threaten the ability of government agencies to accomplish their missions. Redressing the situation would require "high-level attention and effective leadership by both Congress and the administration" (US GAO, 2003, p. 1).

Because my career experience is split almost equally between the private and public sectors, I have learned that public administrations share organizational characteristics, structures, values, behaviors, and cultures that are unique to them. The public sector has a general aversion to change, and rarely has the ability or motivation to properly implement it; whereas change and innovation is the lifeblood of private enterprise.

Having managed change in the way assets are managed in both private and public organizations, I have questioned, and still question why this has to be so. I believe this reinforces the role for academia as it is an issue of learning, ideas, innovation, and improvement.

**Change, Reform, Improvement: "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose"**

On many occasions in the last 20 years, I have been reminded of Jean-Baptiste Alfonse Karr's writing about politics in the July 1848 edition of his journal, *Les Guêpes*:[5] *"Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose"* (Karr, 1848). In translation, *the more things change, the more they stay the same*. I came upon this quotation when studying French at school far too many years ago.

I had an idea of its meaning then, but was too young to appreciate its true depth. This came some 30 years later when I was asking why, despite there

having been so much change and innovation in the techniques and thinking in my profession, so little progress had been made with their adoption in the public sector, other than accepting them as good ideas and as finite principles for ticking the best practice box.

Again, my research provided evidence that my findings and conclusions were also being drawn on a much wider and more authoritative stage. Research undertaken by Alan Phelps in 2010 into municipal property asset management in the United Kingdom local government sector reinforced the orthodox thinking that "the adoption of practice is used as a proxy for measuring outcomes" (Phelps, 2009, p. 294). The OECD's 2007 Working Paper on Public Governance, *Towards Better Measurement of Government*, stated that there is a "persistent problem" with public sector reforms in that they "are rarely based on empirical evaluations, and are based more on policy fashion than evidence, and with pre-occupation and excessive claims of best practice" (OECD, 2007, p. 2).

One recurring theme in my 20 years' experience in public administration is the public service attitude towards change. Change is often associated with *threat*, rather than *opportunity* for new ideas and improvement, not only for public outcomes, but also for the betterment and development of public servants collectively and as individuals. I have found that change, and the rationale for change, within public administration is often not properly explained or communicated, and staff are excluded from the process. Traditional and long-standing comfort zones and patch-protection provide barriers to challenging the status quo and finding better ways of doing things for the public good. This brings about further entrenchment in the old ways and resistance to the true meaning and objectives of *change*. The well-used adage "a comfort zone is a beautiful place, but nothing ever grows there" echoes the inspirational thought ascribed to Lewis Carroll, author of *Alice in Wonderland,* "In the end, we only regret the chances we didn't take, the relationships we were afraid to have, and the decisions we waited too long to make".

A top-down approach will not engender trust or encourage people to risk their comfort zones. Change is often directed by leaders who themselves may not believe in the changes that they are implementing. This is one of the main reasons for the unintended effects of NPM (Hood & Peters, 2004). Individuals are threatened by change because of what it might mean for them personally and the security of their positions. Directorate and senior levels of management will also be threatened by the dismantling of fiefdoms, control, and power bases, and how *change* brings about greater transparency and accountability. As Kruk and Bastaja (2002) observed in relation to machinery of government changes at the NSW Government, "department and agency heads would have to open their doors and allow others into their hitherto long-held exclusive domains and stand back from so-called turf wars" (Kruk & Bastaja, 2002, as cited in Seymour-Jones, 2017, p. 20).[6]

These were the attitudes that I experienced at the NSW and Western Australia governments and from the federal government-imposed introduction of integrated planning and reporting (IP&R) frameworks across the local government sector in 2007. These frameworks, which specifically addressed financial, asset management and are proven leading practice, were seen as being forced upon local government at a time of intergovernment animosity and bitterness. I have worked extensively with local government in this area. The effect of the resistance to this reform has had much to do with the lack of progress made for over more than ten years, and which has been shown to have cost the country billions of dollars.

Thus, attempts at change or reform by governments have appeared to be little more than paying lip service to concepts and putting up barriers rather than implementing genuine programs to improve public outcomes. I see this as a continuing public sector malaise.

## Property Asset Management in the Governance Continuum

Before I ventured into academia, I had not heard of NPM and the unintended effects that attempts at public sector reform had on public administrations (Hood, 1991). I had, however, already witnessed those effects first-hand and formed my own views of their causes. These mirrored what I later discovered to be the New Public Management paradox (Hood & Peters, 2004), which Dr. Olga Kaganova of the Urban Institute in Washington had recorded as affecting the management of public property (Kaganova & McKellar, 2006).[7]

I soon realized after the start of my research that, at the NSW Government, I was witnessing some of the unintended effects of NPM caused by a two-level cultural and social paradox (Hood & Peters, 2004) as a result of poor approaches to implementing public sector change. Thus, my harsh attitude towards public sector middle and lower management (not senior executive management) was perhaps a little unjust.

All this provided me with a mission and a passion to make a difference. One of the first pieces of literature uncovered by my research was the edited book, *Managing Government Property Assets: International Experiences* (Kaganova & McKellar, 2006). In their preface of the book, Kaganova and McKellar stated that

> [Management of government property assets] is a topic that, surprisingly, has not attracted sufficient attention of scholars and researchers, despite the importance of deploying the full range of government real property assets, in both mature and emerging economies, to achieve strategic public policy objectives... Given the enormity of the challenge in addressing the topic of public property asset management from an international perspective, further investigation, research and practical experimentation are much needed. (p. ix)

This affirmed my beliefs, and gave real encouragement and direction to my mission in the form of pursuing "further investigation, research and practical experimentation." Despite all that has gone before and since, there is still a great need for this to continue but in a much more collaborative and structured fashion.

I have had the privilege of presenting papers at three conferences held in the Philippines over the last two years, which have greatly contributed to my learning and understanding of public sector characteristics and culture.[8]

My research for these papers revealed a strong common thread in the themes of the three conferences. This was the ability of public administrations to have or acquire the necessary strength and resilience to adapt smoothly to the NPG model. I found a wealth of literature on the three public governance models (TPA, NPM and NPG), all of which referenced the difficulties that public administrations have faced in moving from one model to another.

In 2014, Milley and Jiwani wrote in relation to the Canadian public sector: "[Organizational resilience] has the potential to contribute important insights for scholars and practitioners in public administration. It offers an intuitively credible strategy for preparing for, dealing with, and adapting to disruptions and adversity" (Boin & van Eeten, 2013, as cited in Milley & Jiwani, 2014, p. 803). In the same way as Kaganova and McKellar (2006) stated in relation to the management of government property, Milley and Jiwani (2014) observed that the organizational resilience of public administrations has not been widely researched, the potential contribution "in governance contexts has barely been broached," and that it is a " gap in the knowledge base of public administration" (p. 803).

These citations reinforce one of the principal concepts of this article, which is the need for much closer and more formal communications between academia, practitioners, and professionals. Certainly, as I shall reflect upon later in this article, the management of property is a key area in organizational resilience, and in helping to ease the pain of governance transitions.

Given my experience in managing government property and what I had learned from my most recent research into the three public governance models and organizational resilience, I was intrigued to see how strategic property asset management should have developed and matured through TPA and NPM, towards entering the NPG model. From my existing data, I would then try to estimate the progress that the reforms attempted by Australian public sector had made through the governance continuum, and how that related to the phases of organizational resilience. These are presented in Table 1 and Figure 3 respectively. Table 1 provides a brief summary of the characteristics of the three models of public governance. I have included two rows for property asset management, which I defined as follows:

• *Property assets* - describes the public sector's attitude towards property in TPA; how that should have developed to support the NPM model; and how it should be further developing to correspond with the principles of NPG; and

• *Property asset management* - shows how property was managed under TPA, and how that should have changed in response to the NPM and NPG models.

## Table 1: Desired Stages of Property Asset Management Maturity through the Governance Continuum

| | Traditional Public Administration | New Public Management | New Public Governance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Value Orientation | Regime and Procedure | Efficiency | Democracy and Efficiency |
| Theoretical Roots | Political science and public policy | ▪ Economics<br>▪ Management studies<br>▪ Private sector philosophy | Organizational sociology and network theory |
| Focus | How policy is made | Intra-organizational management | Intra-organizational governance |
| Emphasis | Policy implementation | Service inputs and outputs | Services, processes and outcomes |
| Relationship to Non-Public Partners | Potential elements of the policy system | Market place: outsourcing | Preferred suppliers and independent agents with ongoing relationships |
| Governance Mechanism | Hierarchy | Market through traditional contracts | Trust or relational contracts |
| Value Base | Public Sector ethics | Market competition | Neo-corporatist |
| Property Assets | ▪ Free good<br>▪ Operational necessity<br>▪ Perennial entitlement and *ownership* | ▪ Strategic resources<br>▪ Integrated with Total Asset Management | NPG Plus:<br>▪ Organizational resilience<br>▪ Public value |
| Property Asset Management | ▪ Operational<br>▪ Janitorial<br>▪ Repairs and maintenance | ▪ Capacity and capability<br>▪ Integration across government<br>▪ Policy, framework and governance<br>▪ Effectiveness and efficiency<br>▪ Financial Sustainability<br>▪ Accountability<br>▪ Input/output orientation | Plus:<br>▪ Shared decisionmaking<br>▪ Relationships and communication<br>▪ Paradoxical thinking<br>▪ Public entrepreneur<br><br>▪ Processes, service and outcomes orientation |

**Figure 3: Estimated Progress of Public Sector Asset Management Reform in Australia[9]**
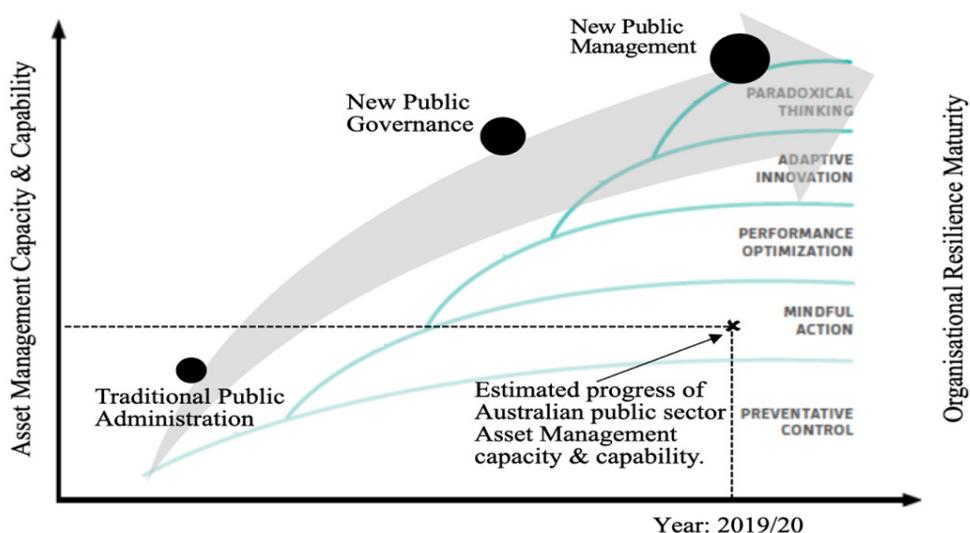


**Philippine Reflections 2: Organizational Resilience and Change**

I believe the Philippine Government is showing leadership in strengthening its resilience to the many climatic and natural threats that the country frequently faces, and in embarking on government-wide reform of the management of its property assets.

From 2018 to 2019, I was an adviser to the World Bank's program to support the Philippine Government's reform agenda towards better financial management of its non-financial public assets. I advised on the establishment of a comprehensive public National Property Asset Register (NPAR) under the Bureau of Treasury. Although the initial key purpose of this registry is to support improved asset valuation, disaster planning and risk management, and insurance of public assets, my advice extended to the NPAR supporting applications across all national government agencies and, further, to the creation of a National Property Asset Management Policy, i.e., a *system of management*.

In June 2019, the Philippine Government established an Inter-Agency Technical Working Group to comprise the main stakeholders from across government (Department of Budget and Management, 2019). Included within this group's roles and responsibilities are:

• to establish a common and homogeneous policy on the management of non-financial assets of the national government; and

• to set the ground works for the establishment of a permanent body that will amend the draft policies on and supervise, monitor, and manage the non-financial assets of the Government.

Although the national government acknowledges that it has gaps in its understanding and awareness of the concepts and value of a government-wide approach to the management of property and in its property asset management capacity and capability, it has recognized the importance of organizational resilience "to anticipate, prepare for, respond and adapt to incremental change and sudden disruptions" (Cranfield School of Management, n.d., "The latest thinking on organizational resilience"). Asset management reform will complement this.

## What Next?

The world is now engulfed by crises and other disruptions, the effects of which will be with us for a very long time. However, perhaps there is opportunity in this time of adversity. If there can be any positive outcomes from the challenges we are facing, there may be hope for *change*; for more resilient and accountable government; and for fairer societies that recognize, understand, and deal with social, health and welfare issues, and the delivery of their services in ways that are less ideologically-biased and politicized, but with a more unified citizen-centric commitment towards public service outcomes.

This may necessarily force governments to develop and build diverse workforces with wider capacity and greater range of skills, of ways in which work is performed and services delivered, and from where they are performed and delivered, i.e., real property. In turn, this may go a long way to removing some of the old public administration prejudices and barriers.

## Endnotes

[1] The RICS, based in London, is recognized as the world's premier institution for the property management profession.

[2] Cranfield School of Management (n.d.) defines organizational resilience as "the ability of an organization to anticipate, prepare for, respond and adapt to incremental change and sudden disruptions in order to survive and prosper" ("The latest thinking on organizational resilience"). I refer readers to Professor David Denyer's (2017) research on organizational resilience, "Organisational Resilience: A summary of academic evidence, business insights and new thinking."

[3] In December 2014, I delivered a presentation on local government's asset management role in sustainability, poverty alleviation and climate change resilience at an Asian Cities Climate

Change Resilience Network workshop conducted by International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives in Baguio City.

⁴ I have managed the corporate real estate function of three major global banks, HSBC Bank, Standard Chartered Bank, and Bank of America, and also of the NSW State Government during a time of structural strategic asset management reform.

⁵ The Wasps. Karr was also editor of the French newspaper, *Le Figaro*.

⁶ The Ms. Robyn Kruk served in the NSW Government for nearly 30 years. From 2007 to 2008, she was director-general of the NSW Department of Premier and Cabinet. From 2006 to 2007, I was a member of the NSW State Property Authority's Advisory Board, of which she was chair.

⁷ A lesson in connections: a contributing chapter in the book made some conclusions on the management of real property in the Australian public sector, which were contrary to my experience. I managed to contact Dr. Kaganova, and we subsequently struck up a correspondence. Only a few days before the 2019 Association of Schools of Public Administration in the Philippines (ASPAP) conference, she asked if I could help her with a question on local government in the Philippines. She was delighted to have the question fully resolved by one of the conference delegates.

⁸ 2018 Asian Group for Public Administration Annual Conference; 2019 Asian Association for Public Administration Annual Conference; and 2019 ASPAP Annual Conference.

⁹ It should be noted that the progress estimated in Figure 3 is a reflection of my professional judgement, and has not yet been subject to the rigors of formal research.

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*Book Review*

*Kusaka, Wataru. 2019. Moral Politics in the Philippines: Inequality, Democracy, and the Urban Poor.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 341 pages.

## Reflection of a Divided Nation

A sustained critique of Philippine institutions, in particular, and of the Philippine democratic system, in general, that looks into the glaring social class disparities prevalent in understanding contemporary Philippine society. Philippine Studies literature, which cuts across disciplines, would always carry undertones within the context of class divisions. Such underpinnings can be seen both in present-day political theory formations in the abstract discipline of philosophy and political science and in the more applied rendering of disciplines such as, but definitely not limited to, history, sociology, gender studies, public administration, and economics. Class disparities and class divide have been the major aspects of, if not considered as the main variable in, social theories that aim to understand and explain contemporary Philippine realities.

This trajectory in theorizing is clearly demonstrated in the works of Marxist and neo-Marxist academics in the Philippines who bank on class disparities in offering a critique of the capitalist-founded social institutions and democratic processes with the end-view of economic and political emancipation. Differences in social consciousness of socioeconomic classes in rendering historical phenomenon had also been the subject of intellectual discourses in the country's formation of historical narrative. This led to the claim of nationalist historians that the revolution that started during the Spanish colonial period is a revolution that has yet to be won, i.e., an unfinished revolution. These lines of thought conclude that there are two counterhegemonic elements of Philippine revolutions: one is the revolution won by the elite class, and another is an unfinished revolution of the impoverished class. The same epistemological frame has been applied in examining Philippine institutions and democratic processes. Hence, the client-patron approach, cronyism and patrimonialism perspective, and the cacique-peasants underpinnings have been the dominant theoretical framing of sociopolitical discourses in the Philippines in comprehending developments of social institutions. Consequently, it is not an overstatement to mention that the interclass struggles and the social relationships formed, if not reified, by this track have been the underlying theoretical anchorage of current intellectual scholarship in the Philippines.

Exemplifying the said intellectual line, albeit with a different flavor, in understanding Philippine democracy is Wataru Kusaka's *Moral Politics in the Philippines: Inequality, Democracy, and the Urban Poor*. Drawing from a hypothesis of the existence of dual public spheres (i.e., the civic public sphere of the middle class and the mass public sphere of the lower class), Kusaka claims that counter-hegemonic public spheres created a "division of the nation" in the context of moral politics. This division clearly manifests the paradoxical characteristic of democracy—as democracy aims for equality, it also simultaneously creates complex social and political arrangements that further widen the gaps between and among social classes.

Departing from earlier studies in the field that placed much emphasis on "interest politics" in explaining class disparities in the Philippines, the book takes cognizance of the fragmentation of the Philippine state that can be better explained through the moral antagonism between the middle class and the masses as seen in the proliferation of discourses within their respective public spheres. Through a careful scrutiny of the historical genesis and development of these two public spheres, Kusaka argues that the "moral division" of the nation is perpetuated by "language, education, media, and the living space" (p. 5) that have taken stratified goals and aims across class lines, and that are deeply entrenched in Philippine social and political history. This moral division of the nation resulted in moral antagonism in the form of a clash of perspectives with regard to people power, elections, and urban governance. The author elucidated these episodes of moral antagonism by providing several illustrations of political exercises, policy formulations, and policy implementations where the civic public sphere clashes with the desires and consciousness of the mass public sphere.

The moral antagonism examined by the book is framed within the antagonistic "we/they" relations that the author calls as "counter-hegemonies theory." This presupposes a "we" that views itself as the "good" and the other "they" that is being viewed as the "evil." On one hand, the civic sphere's "we" takes the modern promise of institutional reform through a relatively strong state imposing its will upon the people via efficient implementation of laws and policies, no matter how harsh the other "they" may take these policies. On the other, the "we" of the mass sphere will always invoke equal rights with regard to livelihood (*hanapbuhay*) and the affirmation of their dignity (*dangal*) with primordiality that, in many instances, run counter to the modern state's wielding of the same power. These differences in perspectives and aims of the two spheres created a moral antagonism that for the author precludes, if not totally destabilizes, the aims of democratic systems and processes.

Antagonistic as it may seem, these two spheres, have a window of convergence, as postulated by Kusaka. This convergence happens in what he calls as "contact zone" where the two spheres conflate. This conflation also results in "moral solidarity of the nation. *Sine qua non* to the formation of this contact zone

is "moral nationalism" that implies the existence of an "enemy of the nation," which usually comes from the elite ruling class. The enemy of the nation is considered by both civic and mass spheres as the evil that must be ousted ,since the enemy of the nation espouses leadership that betrays both the civic sphere's aim for modernistic institutional reform and the mass sphere's goal of livelihood preservation and upholding of dignity. Illustrations provided by the book in this respect are the moral solidarity engendered by moral nationalism during People Power 1—the ousting of a dictator—and the moral nationalism demonstrated in the election of President Benigno Aquino III, which was seen as an offshoot of the people's discontent with the administration of Pres. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, who was also viewed, as the author puts it, as enemy of the nation.

However, these sporadic and, to a large extent, very loose episodes of moral solidarity take a temporary stance in concealing the moral division of the nation. It is in this respect that the book concludes that the underlying basis of a sustained national solidarity cannot be found in the realm of moral politics since "when multiple publics formulate moral antagonism against their respective 'others,' opposition by counter publics may not only fail to ameliorate inequalities but also exacerbates the moral division of the nation and pose a threat to democracy" (p. 254).

Undoubtedly, the book is a major contribution to literatures that examine contemporary Philippine democratic systems and processes as it tries to deviate from the traditional structural-institutional approach and to veer away from the overemphasis on economic materialism in the field. The study offers a relatively new horizon in understanding the interclass divide in Philippine society through the lens of moral politics. By highlighting the moral antagonism between the civic and mass spheres, the work renders the actors as politically active participants of the democratic process and as conscious agents of change, which though limited by their economic life-worlds, are not just absolutely determined by it. Instead of merely stipulating the divide across class lines in the materialistic sense, the book exposes a more substantive class division founded on the abstract conception of good and evil—an approach usually ignored by traditional studies on the topic. This trend of culling consciousness in the purview of moral politics is also relatively overlooked in the field of Public Administration. As manifested in the book, this conceptual approach can inform both scholars and policymakers with theoretical frames that can, if examined deeply while being interlaced with existing public administration theories, translate into praxis that is within the governed's contextual life-world—something that current scholarship in the field can explore both in the areas of theory-formulation and actual governance practices.

The demonstration of the fragmentation between the middle class and the impoverished class in moral terms is also noteworthy. While most of the

studies in the topic only identifies between the elite and mass lines, the book offers explanations about the further divisions in the mass lines that can be demonstrated in the antagonism between the middle and lower classes. This reality can further lead one to the conclusion that the stronghold of the elite class in contemporary Philippine democracy cannot solely be attributed to its hegemonic power in social and government institutions. The fragmentation of moral lines present between social classes, which are supposed to offer counterhegemonic discourse to elite dominance, is also partly to be blamed. Even the sporadic convergences of these two spheres cannot be an alternative for a sustained solidarity that can withstand the force of the elite class. As Kusaka argues, the moral solidarity fostered by the moral nationalism against the supposed enemy of the nation paradoxically created a venue for elite politics to further its hegemonic claim. Indeed, the temporary solidarity offered by these phenomena in Philippine political history cannot be a force that can reckon with the well-entrenched hegemony fashioned by elite democracy rooted in post-democratization Philippine polity.

Notwithstanding Kusaka's development of an understanding of the contemporary Filipino situation established on new lines, the book fails to offer a clear and attainable alternative to the failed moral politics as a vehicle for a lasting national solidarity project that could be the basis for a better democracy—one that promotes equality and the good life. Looking for a possible alternative, the author posits that neither Rousseau's liberal nationalism nor the Habermasian concept of constitutional patriotism can offer a solution to this dilemma. Argued in a rather sketchy manner, the book proposes that the close contact of the two spheres that would enable diverse people to interact with one another, coupled with a temporary deference to the moral concept of "right" and "wrong" and savoured with interest politics founded on ethics of care, could offer a solution. As alluded, this proposition is, to say the least, rather vague and obscure. Taking arguments along this line only undermines the power of moral politics, the very concept that the book devoted its time into, in the actual systems and processes of democracy. It would have been more fruitful if the book explores the inadequacy of the present Philippine democratic system in capturing the different, albeit contrasting, consciousnesses of contemporary Philippine society and the practices of actually integrating these in policy formulation and implementation—this is supposed to be the authentic significance of public sphere in the Habermasian sense. A more grounded and concrete alternative could have been proposed in the form of democratic inclusivism, where the democratic system simultaneously hears and integrates these spheres, hence making institutions more responsive to institutionalization of modern reforms while fostering a state that promotes inclusive growth. Narrowing the linguistic divide in the performance of democratic practices can be the first step in this exercise. Merely settling on the avenues of public sphere, in the case of the Philippine political and governance settings, will neither attain sustainable results nor maintain the supposed contact zone since even the very concept and

the modes of this public sphere in the Philippines is problematic. The success of Philippine democratic institutions in the framework of good governance is partly within the platform of real and tangible citizen participation. The nature of this participation should not only be integrated in the shallow level of formality but it must be practically integrated in the actual processes of policy formulation and implementation both in the national and local levels of public governance.

Though there have been attempts in the conduct of public administration as praxis in the Philippines through participatory governance, there is still much to accomplish to actualize the real purpose of this approach. For one, it can be argued that there exists a system of incorporating views and perspectives from the margins in the Philippine democratic system via the party-list system that is part of the legislative process in the national legislative body. While this system had indeed been devised to include the agenda of those in the margins of mainstream legislative politics, the current practice of this system in policymaking calls for a review in terms of its composition and legislative tasks if it is to really uphold the desire to perform genuine sectoral representation. It is the belief of the author that participation from below, due to lack of a better term, can only be sustained if it leads to the production of pragmatic results, i.e., if their consciousness and moral politics are not just articulated but becomes part of governmental policies and projects. Otherwise, no matter how lively and strong the public sphere is, genuine citizen participation cannot be sustained. Secondly, the strengthening of sectoral representation in the local bodies to meet the demands of good governance founded on the principle of citizen participation is not only desirable but imperative. If moral antagonism is to be translated into a more inclusive framework, institutionalizing citizen participation through sectoral representation in the grassroots level through local governance is crucial. Though there are local bodies that include mandatory sectoral participation, these exercises have only been arbitrarily practiced. Only through an institutionalized mode of sectoral representation—something that will not just allow them to speak but make them part of the whole process— that the impoverished class can truly be included in mainstream governance. Realization of the aforementioned will not just lead to good governance but will also be the advent of attaining the real meaning and purpose of fostering a culture of bureaucratic and governmental democracy.

A point of concern can also be explored in Kusaka's methodology in extracting the supposed consciousness of the mass sphere. While the book's rendering of the civic sphere—taken largely from print media (particularly newspaper articles) with validation through interviews of individuals who belong or identify as urban middle class—can be said to capture civic consciousness, interviews with observations cannot fully characterize the public sphere of the masses. Distinction and nuance should have been made with regard to the difference between a real public sphere and mere individual political opinion.

Indeed, unlike the efflorescence of vehicles of the middle class's civic sphere, rendering, let alone analyzing, mass public sphere is quite problematic. If Kusaka is speaking of a public sphere that has been defined and characterized by Jurgen Habermas—where private subjectivities are carried forward into the public through the process of free flow of communication—then, interview may not be the most appropriate method to employ. Interviews will just arbitrarily elucidate individual political opinions by the participants rather than expose a public sphere that is a product of communicative undertaking. To examine the real mass public sphere, a clear discussion about the nature and types of mass public sphere should have initially been provided first before highlighting the insights extracted from the interviews. Otherwise, no matter how common the opinions among those in the postulated class line are, the interviews cannot really encapsulate the real mass sphere in the strictest sense of the concept.

Finally, it must be mentioned that laudable in this work is its attempt to let the voices of the impoverished—those who are marginalized in the current democratic practices in the Philippines such as the urban poor—be heard. However, this is definitely risky for people from the academe to undertake since they can be a paradoxical character—while they attempt to give voice to the impoverished class, some can be apathetic to and ignorant of the plight of the poor. Unless the state institutionalizes avenues for the marginalized class to fully participate in the project of nation-building to work towards being more democratic, moral politics in the Philippines will always be a reflection of a divided nation.

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